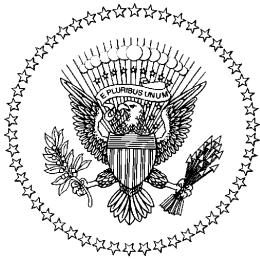


Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, November 21, 1994  
Volume 30—Number 46  
Pages 2365–2415

## Contents

### Addresses and Remarks

Alaska  
Anchorage Museum of Art and History in Anchorage—2367  
Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage—2368  
Asian-Pacific trip—2365  
Hawaii, Hickam Air Force Base in Honolulu—2409  
Indonesia, international business community in Jakarta—2404  
Philippines  
American Cemetery in Manila—2373  
State luncheon in Manila—2375  
Radio address—2371  
Virginia, Veterans Day ceremony in Arlington—2366

### Appointments and Nominations

Social Security Administration, Commissioner—2403

### Communications to Congress

Iran, letter—2412  
Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, letter—2389

### Communications to Federal Agencies

Sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, memorandum—2403

### Executive Orders

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—2386

### Interviews With the News Media

News conferences  
November 13 (No. 79) with President Ramos of the Philippines in Manila—2376  
November 14 (No. 80) in Jakarta, Indonesia—2382  
November 15 (No. 81) in Jakarta, Indonesia—2390

### Joint Statements

APEC Economic Leaders' Declaration of Common Resolve, Bogor, Indonesia—2400

### Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Philippines, President Ramos—2375, 2376

### Proclamations

National Farm-City Week—2408

### Statements by the President

*See also* Appointments and Nominations  
Death of Pedro Zamora—2371

### Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—2415  
Checklist of White House press releases—2415  
Digest of other White House announcements—2414  
Nominations submitted to the Senate—2414

**Editor's Note:** The President was in Honolulu, HI, on November 18, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Week Ending Friday, November 18, 1994

**Remarks on the Asian-Pacific Trip**

*November 11, 1994*

**The President.** Good morning. I want to speak with you for just a few moments before I leave on this trip to the Philippines and Indonesia. From the beginning of our administration, we have worked to build greater security for America, to spread prosperity and democracy around the globe, and to usher in a new age of open markets. We are tearing down the old walls which have existed for so long between domestic and foreign policy in our country, forging a strong recovery here at home by expanding opportunities for Americans around the world.

We are pursuing this strategy because it is clearly in the best interest of our people, and it offers the best opportunity for them to acquire the kind of security for their families that so many millions of Americans are still struggling to achieve. The ultimate goal is to produce a strong America, a strong America in terms of national security and national defense but also in terms of stronger families, better education, more high-wage jobs, and safer streets. Strong at home and strong abroad: two sides of the same coin.

The United States is in a better economic position than any other nation in the world today to compete and win in the global economy. Our work force is the most productive in the world. Our economy has produced 5 million jobs and more in the last 22 months. And finally, this year, high-wage jobs are coming back into this economy, more new high-wage jobs this year than in the previous 5 years combined.

But it is not enough. Too many Americans, millions and millions of them, still find the present and the future uncertain and unsettling: stagnant wages, benefits at risk, an uncertainty in the future about their jobs. We simply must turn insecurity about our future into confidence. The American people do

best when they are confident, outward looking, and working together.

This strategy must include breaking down trade barriers, opening markets, and increasing our exports because export-related jobs pay significantly more on the average than those which are not related to exports.

In the coming weeks, we will have the opportunity to put into place three crucial building blocks of this strategy by working with Congress to pass the GATT agreement, by strengthening our ties to the dynamic economies of the Asian-Pacific region, and by continuing to forge a partnership for peace and prosperity here in our own hemisphere. For decades, we have concentrated our international economic efforts on the mature and strong economies of Europe and Japan. They will remain our close allies, our key competitors, our critical markets.

But the new century demands a new strategy, and that is where this trip fits into the picture. Last year in Seattle, I brought together 14 leaders of the economies of the Asian-Pacific cooperation council. They met for the first time, and there we arrived at a common vision of a new and more open Asian-Pacific community. Next week in Jakarta, I hope the leaders will embrace a common direction toward that vision, setting a goal for free and open trade among all our countries and agreeing on a process to get there.

In my visit to the Philippines and my meetings in Jakarta, I will also stress our continuing commitment to promote security and democracy throughout Asia and the Pacific region. We'll discuss how to strengthen important bilateral relationships, create stronger regional security structures, how to rapidly and effectively implement the agreement for a non-nuclear Korean Peninsula. No problem is more important to the United States and its allies than stopping the proliferation of nuclear materials and weapons in general and specifically ending North Korea's nuclear

program. I will also use these meetings to talk about the advance of human rights, worker rights, and democratic values. We must continue to pursue this path with patience, persistence, and determination.

Two other crucial events will follow this trip to Asia: the Summit of the Americas in Miami, with 33 other democratically elected leaders in the Caribbean and Latin America, and the congressional vote on GATT. GATT is the largest and most advantageous trade agreement in our history. The congressional vote will be a defining decision for our economy and our working people well into the next century. I believe both parties will come together to vote for open markets, free and fair trade, and most importantly, more high-wage jobs for the American people.

This week the American people told us, all of us here in Washington, to work together, to put politics aside to create a stronger, a more secure America. This trip to Asia and the other events of the next 6 weeks give us a unique opportunity to join hands and do just that. By reaching across oceans and borders, we can help to build peace and prosperity around the world and more security and prosperity for our own people here at home.

Thank you very much.

**Q.** Mr. President, how would you describe the prospects for GATT to the Asian leaders?

**The President.** Good.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at a Veterans Day Ceremony in Arlington, Virginia November 11, 1994**

Thank you very much. Thank you. Commander Sioss, distinguished leaders of our veterans organizations, Secretary Brown, Secretary Perry, General Shalikashvili, officials of the Veterans Administration, to our men and women in uniform and their families, our veterans, my fellow Americans, I am proud to share this Veterans Day with you in this magnificent place of rest and reverence.

Today we honor all those who gave their lives and all those who have risked their lives so that our Nation might remain free. And we honor, of course, all those who at this very moment are standing watch for freedom and security, from our bases across the United States to our mission around the world. To each and every American who has worn the uniform of the United States Armed Forces, we say simply, from the bottom of our hearts, thank you.

Over the past few months at home and abroad, I have had the privilege of saying that thank-you in person to men and women who are keeping our Nation's commitment. Today we say a special word of thanks to our troops who are helping the Haitian people turn from fear and repression to hope and democracy and a special word of thanks to our troops in the Persian Gulf who are insuring that Iraq does not again threaten its neighbors or the stability of the vital Gulf region. All over the world our military is providing that kind of support to freedom and proving that when America makes a promise, we will keep it.

A few hours from now I leave for the Far East, where we will celebrate the keeping of another historic promise, General MacArthur's vow to return to the Philippines to help its people restore their freedom. In the 50 years since, we have forged remarkable partnerships for peace and prosperity in Asia, but we know that these blessings are the fruit of our veterans' sacrifice 50 years ago. And we know they endure to the present day because of the vigilance of thousands of Americans who are still in uniform and still there to help maintain the security, the peace, and the freedom in Asia.

This morning I was honored to start the day with veterans of that Pacific campaign and, I might add, a remarkable, jaunty group of parachuters who jumped into Normandy in 1944 and then jumped in again in 1994. There they are back there. To all of them and to all of you here assembled who have worn our Nation's uniform, you must know that America will never forget the service you have rendered.

And America will never forget those who did not return from our battlefields. Today we renew the commitment of this adminis-

tration to obtain the fullest possible accounting for their fate.

For all of you who have helped America live up to its promises, your Nation has a special obligation to keep its commitments to you. That means, in the beginning, making sure that our military remains the best equipped, the best trained, and the best prepared in the world. We are keeping that commitment.

I'd like to say two things about that this morning. The first is that the success of the operations in Haiti and in the Gulf are due in no small measure to the advances which have been made just in the last couple of years in preparation, in prepositioning, in mobility, in training—fresh evidence that we can never again afford to erode the confidence, the strength, and the ever-growing capacity of our military.

The second point that I'd like to make is that maintaining the best trained and prepared military in the world also has its very high human price. And every year, men and now women we may not know as battlefield heroes give their lives so that we can continue to do the kind of training that makes it less necessary for us to have to fight in battle. And I ask especially that we remember them, for their training and their sacrifice and their lives helped to make us so strong that we did not have to fight again in the Gulf and that we were able to enter Haiti without military incident. We thank them as well for their sacrifices, and their families.

I'd like to say a personal word of thanks to Secretary Brown, to Secretary Perry, to General Shalikashvili, and the other military leaders, without whom I could not carry out my duties and from whom I draw strength, wisdom, and advice to try to make the right decisions to keep our commitments to all of you.

Our obligation also includes, as Commander Sioss said and as Secretary Brown said, continuing the service this country owes our veterans after your service in uniform ends. That is why it has given me particular pleasure in recent weeks to address concerns that are important to thousands upon thousands of our veterans. I was pleased to sign into law a bill that authorizes compensation to Gulf war veterans suffering from

undiagnosed illnesses possibly incurred during their service there. Sometimes even the most sophisticated tools don't enable us to diagnose certain illnesses. The lack of a diagnosis must not stop us from responding both quickly and compassionately to veterans' needs. Now it will not.

At the same time, we've required the VA to evaluate the health of the families of Gulf war veterans. We know that the spouses and children of our troops may not wear the uniform, but they, too, bear the burden of defending our Nation. And today we say thank you to the children and the spouses and the families as well.

Finally, we extended the VA's authority to provide care to veterans of the Gulf war, Vietnam, and World War II for disabilities they may have incurred through exposure to toxic substances. We set aside nearly \$400 million for the VA to build, lease, and repair major medical facilities around this country.

I know these actions—indeed, no actions can ever fully repay the service and the sacrifice of those of you who are here and those who never returned whom you represent. There are no words equal to the task of expressing just what your devotion and your sacrifice have meant to our Nation. But let me say at least we have this beautiful day God has given us which belongs entirely to you, to your commitment to our freedom, our prosperity, and our security. A grateful nation thanks you with this day and with all our hearts for what you have done and what you continue to do.

God bless you all, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. at Arlington National Cemetery. In his remarks, he referred to Donald A. Sioss, national commander, Disabled American Veterans. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at the Anchorage Museum of Art and History in Anchorage, Alaska**

*November 11, 1994*

Well, let me just say, as I said out at the base, I've been trying for 2 years to get to Alaska, and I finally made it today. And I

thank the Governor, the Senator, and the mayor for coming out to meet Hillary and me. I also want to say that this is my first trip to Alaska, now I can say that in the last couple of years I've been to every State in America. And I hope I'll be coming back. But it's not Hillary's first trip to Alaska; she is coming back. She worked here 25 years ago when she was about 6 and violated the child labor law. *[Laughter]*

So I thought I would just ask her to come up here and say a word, because it's been—this has been a very meaningful trip to her. I was trying to get a little sleep, and when we started—we finally got into the airspace of Alaska, she was beating on me, saying, "Wake up, wake up, look at this, look at this." *[Laughter]* So I heard the story again for the 500th time. *[Laughter]* Which I love. Now, I can tell it as well.

So please come up and say a word.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks to the Military Community at Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage**

*November 11, 1994*

Thank you very much, General Boese, General Cox, General Case, General Needham. On this Veterans Day, I would be remiss if I did not say a special word of thanks to General Needham for his work in trying to recover the information we need about our POW's and MIA's in Vietnam. I thank you, sir, for your work there. Governor Hickel, Senator Stevens, Mayor Mystrom, former Governor Sheffield, ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be here in Alaska. I've been trying for 2 years to get here to Alaska. At times I find the President is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces but not of his own schedule. *[Laughter]*

Twenty-five years ago, before I met her, my wife came to Alaska and worked for a summer. So you can say to me, welcome to Alaska, but for Hillary, it's welcome back to Alaska. I've heard so much about it I always felt that I had imagined it, seen it all in my

mind. Those of you who, like me, have been married for a while, we've told each other the same stories so many times I feel that I could tell you what it was like when I worked in Alaska 25 years ago. *[Laughter]* But I'm glad to be here to see the real thing.

I've also heard a lot about Alaska from another group, the veterans of the 208th Coastal Artillery, a National Guard unit from my home State of Arkansas that defended Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians during World War II. One of my best friends and one of my former chiefs of staff lost his brother in that brave struggle. And I just want you to know that I know you're a long way from the rest of our country territorially, but we're proud to be here in the United States and proud of the contribution that Alaska has made to the United States of America.

I am especially pleased to be here on Veterans Day because, as all of you know, Alaska is veteran country, the State with the highest concentration of both current armed forces personnel and former servicemen and women in the entire State of the Union.

I began this morning at Arlington National Cemetery, and that's what this little pin is. This is the pin the National Cemetery did for Veterans Day this year, honoring all those who served. It was a beautiful day there—a little warmer. *[Laughter]* The sun was shining, there were still a few autumn leaves on the trees, and the great amphitheater at Arlington is being closed for—it's being repaired. Many of you have seen that amphitheater there. So instead, we celebrated Veterans Day at the foot of the long steps up to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

And it was so incredibly moving, walking up those long flight of stairs to put the wreath down and then turning around and looking just as far as you could see down a sweeping, beautiful hillside with American veterans, their families, their supporters standing in the midst of the magnificent graves of Arlington Cemetery.

I'm on my way to Manila now to honor other soldiers—those who fought in the Pacific Theater during the Second World War—to recall those who left home and family for places they never heard of, places they could barely imagine, for dangers they certainly could not have imagined. To those of

you here who defended us in that war, whether in the islands of the Far East or here in Alaska, with distinguished units like the Eskimo Scouts, on this Veterans Day, I salute you and on behalf of all the American people, I thank you.

We also honor and remember all those who, in war and peace, have given so much to America so that we could remain free and strong. To all the veterans of our Armed Forces, your country will never forget the extraordinary service you have performed. We owe you the safety of our shores and the liberty we enjoy. We have a special obligation to all of you who are veterans. Even when your service in uniform ends, the country's service must continue.

In recent weeks I signed into law two bills that addressed the concerns of thousands of veterans. The Veterans Health Program Act of 1994 extends the Veterans Administration's authority to provide hospital, outpatient, and nursing home care to veterans of the Gulf war, Vietnam, and World War II to any exposure they may have had from toxic substances. The act also provides about \$400 million—[*applause*—thank you, thank you. The act also provides nearly \$400 million for the VA to build, lease, and repair medical facilities around our country. The Veterans Benefit Improvement Act of 1994 authorizes compensation to Gulf war veterans suffering from undiagnosed illnesses from Operation Desert Storm. No one who wears our uniforms, no member of their families should have to suffer because of difficulty in diagnosing a particular illness. Thanks to this act, we will be able to respond quickly and compassionately to veterans' needs plainly related to what they have done in the service of our country.

Today, we also must pay tribute to those of you who at this very moment are standing watch for freedom, demonstrating skill and professionalism here in Alaska and around the world. I know that personnel from Elmendorf and Fort Richardson are now deployed in support of the operation in Haiti where our troops have helped a nation turn from fear, oppression, and intimidation back to democracy and hope. And I thank you for that. I thank you also for your service in humanitarian missions from Rwanda to Papua

New Guinea. You have shown that we stand by our ideals. Thank you. [*Applause*] Somebody back there sounds like he wants to go back. [*Laughter*] Thank you.

Here at the Alaskan Command, your strength and preparedness has helped America to keep its security commitments in Asia as well. Alaska Command plays a vital role in maintaining security on the Korean Peninsula, where I have visited our troops and where we have just concluded an agreement with North Korea to make sure that that nation becomes a nonnuclear state and does not contribute to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

And finally, I thank you for the support of our troops in the Persian Gulf, where we moved with amazing speed and strength to make sure that Iraq poses no threat to its neighbors or to the stability of the vital Gulf region. I thank you for your contribution in that.

This kind of decisive action tells the world that when America makes a commitment, we keep that commitment. And I want you to know that we all understand it is your strength, your ability, your preparedness, and your devotion to duty that makes it possible for me as President to make and keep commitments on behalf of the United States. We are all in your debt on this Veterans Day for that and on every day. And because of that, it is imperative that you remain the best equipped, best trained, best prepared fighting force in the world, and we will see that you do so.

You know, here in Alaska, the home of Senator Ted Stevens and Senator Frank Murkowski and Congressman Don Young, I want to say that in light of the elections last Tuesday giving a majority of the Congress to the Republican Party, I want to pledge again to work with them on issues of concern to the State of Alaska and to work with them, more importantly, as well as all others of both parties, in a nonpartisan way on behalf of problems of this country which are, in many cases, new, different, challenging, unlike anything we have faced before and unable to be put into clean and neat partisan categories. Let us now join together to move this country forward in the best American spirit.

All over our country today, we have a unique situation, as far as I know, in the history of America. We are in the midst of an economic recovery that is the envy of the world, and yet, still, a majority of ordinary Americans, the people who keep this country going, who get up every day and work hard to try to build their families and raise their kids to do the right thing and have a good life, a majority of those people feel personal insecurities; insecurities that are economic, insecurities that are social. They're worried about the crime in our streets or the stability of their jobs or the security of their health care benefits.

Interestingly enough, when I went to Europe to celebrate D-Day, I met on two separate occasions with very large numbers of American service personnel who were celebrating the end of the cold war with the D-Day celebration and with the other celebrations because they knew that we were able to reduce our force in Europe somewhat. But over and over and over again these fine people who had worn our uniform said, "Well, if I go home, Mr. President, will I be able to find a job? If I find a job, Mr. President, will it be a job with health benefits with my kids or without them, because as long as I'm in the military, I have that." This is a significant new development in the history of our country where, because of the radical changes in the global economy and because of social problems we've been dealing with in our Nation for 30 years now, you have a majority of ordinary Americans feeling uncertainty in the midst of developments which appear to be very, very hopeful.

Well, I can tell you that both are true. The events are hopeful, the trends are good, but the reasons for insecurity and uncertainty are real. We have to continue to work together to reduce the size of our Government where it is too big, to make sure that you get better value for the dollar, to make sure that people at the State and local level, where folks are in touch with the grassroots realities, have more freedoms to pursue reforms in their schools, in their welfare systems, in their health care systems. We have to do what we can also, together, to keep this economic recovery going so that we not only get more jobs, we get higher paying jobs and greater

stability and security and support for those jobs.

Finally this year, after a very long time, we are beginning to see high-wage jobs come back into the American economy, more this year than in the previous 5 years combined. But folks, make no mistake about it, you here on America's frontier know that we are in a global economy, know that we have to fight and struggle for every single opportunity we have, and know that we have to be as competitive, as efficient, and as dominant where we can, economically as we are militarily. Your strength must be mirrored in the strength of every American business, every American community, and every American family. If we can equal your performance economically, we will do just fine well into the 21st century for our children and our grandchildren.

Believe it or not, I know you'd never know it from the press, but we've actually worked together some before in the last 2 years. I thank—for example, I would like to thank Senator Stevens and Senator Murkowski for supporting the Family and Medical Leave Act, which made it possible for 66,000 people here in Alaska to take a little time off when a baby was born or a parent was sick without losing their job.

And so I say to you, we've got a lot of work to do as a country. In the military, you've done a brilliant job of setting up a continuous, continuous education and training program. Why are we doing so well? Because the military is always changing, but still rooted to its traditional values. That is what America must do.

One of the little-known facts about the success of our operation in Haiti and the success of our operation in the Gulf recently is that both of them reflected lessons learned in the last 2 years to increase our mobility by land, by air, by sea; to preposition materials; to train people to do new and different skills; to have the services working together as never before. The Haitian operation was the most integrated, jointly planned, jointly executed operation in American history. That is what we have to do in our private lives as well, always learning, always growing, always moving forward.

That is a new challenge for America. It does not have a partisan label on it. It is very important; the national interest is at stake. We've always done what it took for the national defense. We have always understood that national security required us to be strong around the world. But we know ultimately that the security of America is in our strong families, our strong communities, our education systems, our ability to generate good jobs, and our ability to keep our streets safe and our laws sacred—strong at home and strong abroad.

On this Veterans Day, I want to say that one of my most prized possessions as President are the coins that I get whenever I visit any base, any unit. I now must have 100 on a big table in the Oval Office. Anybody that comes in to see the President of the United States sees a big, flat table covered with military coins from all over the world and all over the United States, a constant reminder of the service that you have rendered to our country. And I ask you to think about that on this Veterans Day. Being strong abroad and being strong at home are two sides of the coin we should have for America, and we should leave to our children.

God bless you all, and God bless America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Lawrence E. Boese, Commander, Alaskan Command; Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Cox III, Adjutant General, Alaska National Guard; Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Case, Commander 3d Wing; Army Maj. Gen. Thomas H. Needham, Commander, U.S. Armed Forces, Alaska; and Mayor Rick Mystrom of Anchorage, AK. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on the Death of Pedro Zamora**

*November 11, 1994*

Hillary and I are deeply saddened by the news of the death of Pedro Zamora.

In his short life, Pedro educated and enlightened our Nation. He taught all of us that AIDS is a disease with a human face and one that affects every American, indeed every citizen, of the world. And he taught

people living with AIDS how to fight for their rights and live with dignity.

Pedro was particularly instrumental in reaching out to his own generation, where AIDS is striking hard. Through his work with MTV, he taught young people that "The Real World" includes AIDS and that each of us has the responsibility to protect ourselves and our loved ones.

Today, one in four new HIV infections is among people under the age of 20. For Pedro, and for all Americans infected and affected by HIV, we must intensify our efforts to reduce the rate of HIV infection, provide treatment to those living with AIDS, and ultimately find a cure for AIDS.

Our hearts are with Pedro's family in this difficult time. In the months ahead, let us rededicate ourselves to continuing Pedro's brave fight.

### **The President's Radio Address**

*November 12, 1994*

I'm speaking to you from Anchorage, Alaska, at the end of the first leg of my trip to Asia. The next stop is the Philippines, where I'll take part in a ceremony especially appropriate just a couple of days after Veterans Day. There I'll have the privilege of helping to honor the sacrifices made by those who fought in the Pacific during World War II to preserve our freedom and democracy.

In the 50 years since, America has helped to build a world of peace and prosperity. But we know that these blessings are the fruit of our veterans' brave fights. That's why yesterday, on Veterans Day, we honored and remembered all who, in war and peace, have given so much so that America would remain free. We have a special obligation to make sure that our Nation never forgets their work and that we do everything we can to keep our country strong in the face of our challenges at home and abroad. We also have an obligation to honor those who are standing watch for freedom and security now, from our bases across America to our outposts around the world.

Over the last few months, at home and abroad, I've had the privilege of saying thank you in person to our men and women in uni-

form, those who are keeping our Nation's commitments. Our troops in Haiti are helping the Haitian people turn from fear and repression to hope and democracy. In the Persian Gulf they're ensuring that Iraq does not again threaten its neighbors or the stability of the vital Gulf region. All over the world, our military is proving that when America makes a promise, we'll keep it.

The results are clear. The threat of nuclear war is receding. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at Americans. North Korea has recently agreed to become a nonnuclear state and to remove that threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Peace and freedom are on the march, with American support and involvement in the Middle East, in the Gulf, in Haiti, and also in Northern Ireland and South Africa where we've been asked to be involved.

Our national security plainly depends on our strong military and on a strong foreign policy. But our strength is more than military around the world. It also depends upon strength in a global economy. The future of every nation is really a global future. It means jobs and incomes in the United States. And expanded trade has always been a goal of mine and this administration, because whether we like it or not, we are in a global economy that we can't run from and trade related jobs pay so much more on the average than jobs not related to trade.

That's where the rest of this trip to Asia fits in. Next week, in Jakarta, Indonesia, I'll meet with the 14 leaders of the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, called APEC. We'll continue the work we began last year when I called the group together for the first time in Seattle. We've already forged a common vision of a more open community. When we meet in Jakarta, I hope we'll embrace a common direction, setting a goal for free and open trade among all our economies.

Then when I return from the trip we'll face another crucial test about our future in this global economy. Congress will reconvene soon to vote on ratifying GATT, the largest, most comprehensive trade agreement ever. GATT will require all nations to finally do what we've already done, to cut tariffs and

other barriers and open up trade to our products and our services. It will level the export playing field for American companies and American workers all around the world and, in so doing, will create hundreds of thousands of new high-paying jobs right here at home.

It will make our exports more competitive exactly when we have recovered our ability to sell more American products and services. This year, America's economy, for the first time in 9 years, has been voted the most productive in the world by the annual review of international economists. And for the first time since 1979, American automobile makers are selling more cars all around the world than their Japanese competitors.

The congressional vote on the GATT will be a defining decision for America as we head into the next century. And I believe that members of both parties will put aside partisanship to do what's right for our country and our future.

I also hope that both parties will take other opportunities to join together when the national interest is at stake, and we're moving into a future which has no easy partisan label tied to the past. Our common goal must be to produce a strong America, strong in terms of national commitments abroad. On this Veterans Day weekend, we know that a strong America means to be strong abroad. But surely, we also know that it means being strong at home, that our strength comes at bottom from strong families, strong communities, better education, higher paying jobs, safer streets. Strong at home; strong abroad: Two sides of the same coin.

We have to keep going because a majority of hardworking Americans still feel uncertain about their economic future and their personal and family security, even though we're in the midst of a significant economic recovery. We've got to keep going to bring our deficit down and keep shrinking the size of the Government, to increase trade and increase education and training, to keep these jobs going up and to get more high-wage jobs.

We've got over 5 million new jobs in the last 22 months. And for the first time this year, we have some high-wage jobs coming

back into this economy, more than in the previous 5 years combined.

So let's make our goal to be number one militarily, number one economically, and number one in the strength of our families and our communities. Strong at home; strong abroad. That's an America that builds on the opportunities others have sacrificed so much to give us. And it takes responsibility to keep those opportunities alive for our children.

Thank you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:45 p.m. on November 11 at the Anchorage Museum of Art and History in Anchorage, AK, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 12.

### **Remarks at the American Cemetery in Manila, Philippines**

*November 13, 1994*

President and Mrs. Ramos, Secretary Christopher, Ambassador Negroponte, Mr. Perrine, Mr. De Ocampo, Colonel Barth; Mr. Quashan, thank you for that wonderful introduction; distinguished members of the Philippine Government, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, especially to the young students and to the Peace Corps volunteers that are here, and most especially to the Philippine and American veterans here in attendance: Hillary and I are deeply honored to be with you today. I was told this morning that I am the first sitting President since President Eisenhower to visit this hallowed site, and it is a profound honor for me and for our entire party.

We gather to honor and to remember. In this place only a few miles from the ocean, named for peacefulness, we always remember the fury of war, the 17,206 American and Philippine men and women who are buried here, arrayed in the long arcs I saw this morning as if still deployed in our defense, the 36,281 more whose names are engraved on these magnificent marble walls. Nowhere else outside the United States are so many American heroes honored and interred.

Some of their brethren, heroes from American units and Filipino units, thankfully are still here with us today. Time has diminished none of our pride in them. They are among the finest people our nations have

ever produced. Their presence here reminds us of the meaning of courage and determination. Their example will inspire us for ages to come. On behalf of a grateful nation and an increasingly free world, I thank them, and I ask all the Philippine and American veterans of World War II who are here to stand and to receive the thanks of all of us. [*Applause*]

We can hardly imagine today the perils that met these young men in the full bloom of their lives. They left families and loved ones and home to go to places they never heard of to confront dangers they never imagined. They had to liberate territory bit by bit, enduring constant fear of ambush in island jungles. At sea they stayed on course in the face of a new terror: the suicide dive bomber. On American carriers, our pilots took off, never knowing if they would find their ships again. This ordeal engulfed the Philippines, our oldest friend in Asia, a nation that has done so much to enrich the United States.

On the same day that Pearl Harbor was bombed, the American garrison in the Philippines was attacked. Troops under General MacArthur dug in for battle, not far from here, on the Bataan Peninsula and on Corregidor.

Our joint forces in Bataan resisted for 4 months. Then, low on ammunition, weakened by hunger, reduced by sickness, they could fight no more. Their nightmare was just beginning. A death march to prison camps and a horrifying internment claimed the lives of about 25,000 Filipinos and Americans. Corregidor became the last bastion.

Just before coming here, I had the honor of touring the island with the President and with a group of our veterans, including a man named Bill Martin, who is with us here today. His road in the war was long, from Bataan to Corregidor to a prison camp in Manchuria. Today marks the first time Bill Martin has been on the rock since he was captured there 50 years ago, the first time he has seen this place where so many of his friends and comrades lie at rest. Welcome back, Bill Martin, and thank you.

I saw on Corregidor the remains of many evidences of Americans and Filipinos sharing the familiar diversions of everyday life, the

fields where the games were played, the remnants of three movie theaters. But the most important thing they shared was a ferocious love of freedom.

When a shell fragment cut the halyard on the embattled garrison's flagpole it was a Philippine civilian named Panorio Punongbayan who braved the shelling with two Americans to catch the flag before it touched the ground and, under fire, to retie the line and raise the flag again. Their commander, General Wainwright, said what they had done was not only courageous but helped the battled rock's morale beyond any words. A month after Bataan fell, time ran out for Corregidor, as the sky over the island turned to lead with 16,000 shells a day. Relief was impossible; freedom's last foothold seemed lost.

Soon—we forget this now—Japanese forces controlled land and water, stretching from Alaska's Aleutian Islands to Wake Island near Hawaii, from New Guinea, then menaced Australia. With our fleet devastated at Pearl Harbor, and Hitler ruling Europe from the English Channel to the Russian heartland, free people everywhere stood in fear.

In this, one of our Nation's darkest hours, our troops and our leaders might have given up, but their spirits never failed. An enlisted man who survived the fighting and hunger, the death march, and 3 years in prisoner of war camps, gave voice to that spirit and to its ultimate source. Almost incapable of walking when he was liberated, he was still unbowed and said, "When a man allows God to sustain him, he can go through hell if he has to. That's what I did. Yes, sir, I refused to die." That man, Corporal Ishmael Cox, is still unbowed and refusing today, living in Missouri.

After the occupation, tens of thousands of Filipinos and a handful of Americans fought the most valiant guerrilla effort in the Pacific theater. Meanwhile, American forces, with Australians and New Zealanders, began the agonizing crawl, island by island, back across the Pacific. They fought their way through the Solomons, the Admiralty Islands, Palau; their battles at Midway, Guadalcanal, and Iwo Jima are now legends.

Driven by General MacArthur's determination that our friends in the Philippines should not have their freedom delayed, Americans put to shore at Leyte in 1944, with an invasion force larger than that of the opening phase of Normandy. In the surrounding gulf, more than 800 United States ships stretched across the horizon and, there, fought and won the largest naval battle of all time. General MacArthur did return and so would freedom.

Countless horrors still lay in the way, including the butchery of house-to-house fighting in Manila. The savagery turned the Pearl of the Orient into another Warsaw. But the tide turned once and for all.

When he returned to Corregidor, General MacArthur saw the now-famous old flagpole still standing, and he ordered, "Hoist the colors to the peak, and let no enemy ever haul them down."

These heroes, those who rest here and those still among us, gave everything so that all of us might be free. Here in the Philippines, 1 million people, 1 in every 17, gave their lives. But the spirit of Bataan and Corregidor did not die. The defense of democracy, the determination to spread freedom, the refusal to bow before aggression, are principles at the core of our identities as nations today.

Those who were once our foes, Japan, Germany, and Italy, are now our friends, because they, too, now embrace these ideals. These same principles saw us through the long ordeal of the cold war, and today, they unite us with our allies, including our friends here in the Philippines, who stand with us in the constant march of freedom and democracy.

It is fitting that we commemorate these heroes today not only because of the common cause that joined our peoples 50 years ago but because the great wave of democracy that has swept the world in our time began here in the Philippines. Eight years ago, when President Ramos and others stood up bravely, they, too, showed the defiant courage of Bataan, so did the crowds that filled the streets here when people power blossomed and Corazon Aquino led the Philippines into a new era. What happened here, all of you in the Philippines should know,

strengthened the magical current of democracy that was then sweeping all around the world. It encouraged events in countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Russia.

We mark now the fifth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall just this past week. A new generation of democracy has come into the world in South Africa, South America, much of Asia, parts of the Middle East. What you did here encouraged the spirit of freedom for the world, just as surely as your defiant courage in World War II buoyed the forces of freedom then. We thanked you then; we thank you now.

Like those we honor today, we must still stand against aggression and cede to no country the right to dominate its neighbors, its region, or its hemisphere. The United States looks to the Pacific not as an ocean that separates us from Asia but as a body of water that unites us with Asia.

To fulfill the vision of those who fought here, we must, and we will, remain engaged with the Philippines and elsewhere. We will make the most of peace and partnership and, as President Ramos said, the opportunities for prosperity. But if threats arrive, we will confront them as well.

On the Korean Peninsula, there has been such a threat in the possible proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The agreement we reached with North Korea to freeze and then to dismantle North Korea's ability to build nuclear weapons was achieved in concert with South Korea and Japan. But it furthered the cause of security in the Philippines and, indeed, throughout all of Asia.

Our final responsibility is to remember what those young people did here a half a century ago and to remember that it is undying. Today, when I got out with Hillary at the cemetery, the first grave I visited was that of a soldier from my home State. He came from a town where I have spent many happy days, a town like so many little towns that dot our wonderful country and form the backbone of America. Private First Class William Thomas, on April 22d, 1945, was not quite 23 years old when his unit entered the Zambales Mountains 85 miles from here. They were assigned to help clear the enemy from Luzon. He was a long way from his hometown of Wynne, Arkansas, that day.

The enemy was well dug in when his company attacked along a ridge, and he was hit by an explosion that blew off both his legs below the knees. But he refused medical help and instead continued firing until a bullet knocked out his gun. Still he kept on fighting, throwing his grenades. His heroism allowed his unit to capture that position. The price of his unit's victory was William Thomas' life. For his valor, he received the Medal of Honor, America's highest military honor, one of 28 recipients so remembered here.

William Thomas, for your sacrifice and for that of all others here laid to rest, your Nation remembers you and is forever grateful. And you serve us still, as do all the names and graves of those here commemorated serve us still, for nothing, nothing protects us and our freedom like the vigilance of memory.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:30 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to John D. Negroponte, U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines; Paul Parrine, U.S. World War II veteran, who gave the invocation; Col. Emmanuel De Campo, president, Veterans Federation of the Philippines; Col. Wayne M. Barth, USA, Director, Joint Military Assistance Group; and William H. Quashan, World War II veteran.

## **Remarks at a State Luncheon in Manila**

*November 13, 1994*

President and Mrs. Ramos, former President Macapagal, former President Aquino, distinguished members of the Philippine Government, members of the business community here, members of the diplomatic corps, my fellow Americans who are here: Let me begin by thanking President Ramos and Mrs. Ramos for making Hillary and me and all of our delegation here feel so very welcome on our all too brief but very enjoyable and very important visit to the Philippines.

One hundred thousand Americans call the Philippines home. And now, about 1½ million Filipinos call the United States home. Indeed, I was trying to count up all the Philippine-Americans I brought with me on this

trip, and I lost count. But we have people here from the Agency for International Development; we have three of my Navy stewards; my personal physician, Dr. Connie Mariano; and of course, the executive with the Export-Import Bank, a long-time friend of yours, Mr. President, Maria Louisa Haley. We're all glad to be here, but those with roots here in the Philippines are the happiest of all to be home. You have made us all feel at home, and we thank you for that.

We have worked together in many ways over a long period of time. President Ramos just described the 50th observation of our partnership in the Second World War. I have heard a very moving account of the events of last October from Secretary of Defense Perry and General Shalikashvili. General Ramos' Philippine soldiers also fought side by side with Americans in Korea and in Vietnam. And you were there, sir, in both conflicts. We thank you for that individually and for your country.

During the cold war, the United States led an effort to stand against the tyranny of communism. You were our partner then. In the last several years, you have led the world in the sweeping resurgence of democracy, beginning 8 years ago when you and others exposed yourselves to considerable risks to stand up for freedom here in your own country, following through with the remarkable People Power Movement of President Aquino, where people held flowers in the face of tanks and captured the imagination of the entire world.

And now, sir, under your leadership we see the Philippines moving forward, respecting the dignity, the rights of all people and aggressively pursuing a modern economic program designed to bring prosperity to all the tens of millions of people who call these wonderful islands their home.

You know, President Ramos is a fitting leader for this time. We know in America that in 1946—he doesn't look that old—[laughter]—but in 1946, he won the only Filipino scholarship to the United States Military Academy. I met several others of you who graduated from West Point here today, and all of you know that when one graduates from West Point, he—and now she—becomes a member of the Long Gray Line,

linked forever with all of those who went before and all of those who will come after.

Well, Mr. President, you symbolize the link between our two nations, which is equally as strong and will always exist. We are linked by our history; we are linked by the populations that we share, the Americans here, the Filipinos there. But most of all, we are linked by our shared values, our devotion to freedom, to democracy, to prosperity and to peace.

And for that common devotion, I ask all of you to stand and join me in a toast to President and Mrs. Ramos: To all the people of the Philippines, to their health, to their prosperity, and to their eternal partnership with the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:40 p.m. in the Ceremonial Room at the Malacanang Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Philippine President Fidel Ramos and his wife, Amelita; former Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal; and former Philippine President Corazon Aquino.

### **The President's News Conference With President Fidel Ramos of the Philippines in Manila**

*November 13, 1994*

**President Ramos.** Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Today President Clinton and I took concrete steps towards enhancing Philippine-American relations. During our bilateral meeting, I expressed my sincere appreciation to President Clinton for the substantial participation of the United States Armed Forces in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Leyte landing, 3 weeks ago.

Our meeting this afternoon enabled us to discuss a wide range of issues with direct import on our bilateral relations and the peace and stability of the Pacific. I acknowledged our debt of gratitude to America's commitment, to America's strength, and to America's keeping faith with her ideals and values in such areas as Haiti, the Persian Gulf, and the Korean Peninsula.

We both agreed to build our partnership on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit, reinforced by our common commitment to democracy and the rule of law. Presi-

dent Clinton and I recognize the value of enhancing the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and reiterated our commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. We agreed that only under such conditions can the full economic growth and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region be realized.

I assured President Clinton that the Philippines will continue to support the peace-keeping initiatives of the United States and the United Nations, as we have recently manifested in a dispatch to Haiti, upon initial contingent of 50 international police monitors, or IPM, from this country. And I also congratulated him for the United States role in the series of breakthrough agreements for peace and development in the Middle East and in the Korean Peninsula which has lifted our hopes for its eventual denuclearization.

I have been assured, in turn, by President Clinton that they will encourage a higher level of investments by Americans. I also acknowledged his government's support for our bid to attain newly industrializing country, or NIC status, by the turn of the century. We further agreed to find ways and means to improve our two-way trade.

The United States continues to be our number one trading partner, and we believe that we can greatly expand our trade by the further lowering of trade barriers.

To accelerate trade liberalization, President Clinton and I agreed on the urgency of the ratification of the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade by member countries. I assured him of the Philippines' commitment to trade liberalization and investment facilitation, which must be accompanied by conditions of national stability and political will.

We also agreed that the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, or APEC Leaders Summit in Indonesia, will be a landmark forum that will shape the future course of the economy of the entire Asia-Pacific area and, indeed, of the world. And we both affirmed the value of the Philippines-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty, or the MDT, and its contribution to regional security and stability. We agreed that our joint exercises, which are planned by the Mutual Defense Board, should be continued to ensure the interoperability of military units.

I appreciate President Clinton's effort to help resolve the longstanding issue of the claims of Filipino veterans of World War II with the United States Government. Even as I acknowledged the concern of leading members of the U.S. Congress for the restoration of Filipino veterans' rights. I welcome these assurances that the United States will work hand in hand with the Philippine Government in helping to promote the welfare of Amerasians in the Philippines.

President Clinton and I renewed our commitment to the protection of the environment and the preservation of the world ecological balance.

And lastly, I reiterated my appreciation for the warm welcome, hospitality extended by President Clinton and the American people during my visit to the United States last year. We look forward to moving Philippines-United States partnership to a higher and more mutually beneficial level in the years to come.

Thank you very much. *Salamat.*

**President Clinton.** Thank you very much. First, let me thank President Ramos for the warm welcome that the United States delegation has received here in the Philippines.

We had a very good bilateral discussion in which the President expressed the Philippine position and the interest of the Filipino people very articulately to me on a very large number of issues.

I would like to point out in general that over the last 50 years, the relationship between the United States and the Philippines has changed, has grown, has matured, but we are still very much bound together in ways that I think are positive. There are, after all, 100,000 Americans and more who make their home here permanently, and in the United States there are about 1½ million Americans of Philippine ancestry.

We admire your democracy, and we have especially admired all the things which have been done in the last 8 years. We have an important security relationship. You heard the President talk about the joint exercises. I also was able to inform President Ramos that the United States will be able to supply the Philippine armed forces with two C-130's soon and that we will continue to discuss the possibility of shared equipment to

build up the strength and the security of the Philippine armed forces.

We talked about regional security in general, and I want to again thank publicly President Ramos for the support that he has given to the agreement we have reached in cooperation with the South Koreans and the Japanese with North Korea, in which North Korea has agreed to become a nonnuclear state and to remove that threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I also thanked President Ramos for the participation of the Philippines in our remarkable international coalition in Haiti.

Finally, we discussed our economic relationships. Most of what should be said has already been said by President Ramos, but let me say that I was deeply impressed when the President came to the United States and told me that his new policy was trade, not aid. That's a welcome message.

The United States purchased \$5 billion in products from the Philippines last year. We are the largest investor here. We like being the largest purchaser and the largest investor. This morning, the Secretary of State hosted a breakfast which I attended for leading American business interests here, and I pledged to the President I would do what I could to increase the interest of the American business community in investment in the Philippines.

We both support GATT and hope that both of our legislative bodies will ratify it shortly. I am going home when I leave the APEC conference to achieve that objective, and I hope we do. I believe we will. And we are going to APEC with a view toward continuing to break down the barriers to trade and investment.

The United States will and must remain engaged in the Pacific region for security reasons and for economic reasons. One-third of our exports, supporting some 2 million American jobs, already go to the Asian-Pacific region. This is a very important thing for us. And the fact that we have the sort of relationship we do and that both of us are now going to Indonesia to try to deepen the idea that we should be working together across the vast Pacific to support the prosperity and future of our respective peoples is a very important one indeed.

So for all those reasons, I consider this to be a successful trip. And again, I thank the President for his kind hospitality and for his frank and open and straightforward way of stating the position of the Philippine Government and the Philippine people.

Thank you.

### ***Philippine-American Military Cooperation***

**Q.** Good evening, sirs. My question is for President Ramos. Earlier today you applauded America's intention to remain engaged in the Asia-Pacific region. There has been much talk lately of U.S. plans for prepositioning war material within the territories of strategically located countries, such as the Philippines. Even now, reports indicate Manila and Washington are looking at a proposed agreement allowing U.S. warships to resupply and to refuel in the Philippines. Given these developments, in what direction do you want Philippine-American military cooperation to change or to evolve into during your term, or just how active a military presence do you want America to have both in the Philippines and within ASEAN's territory in the future?

**President Ramos.** Thank you.

First of all, we should distinguish between the floating depot issue and the lesser issue of servicing, which includes rewatering, refueling, and minor repairs and also rest and recreation. The servicing aspect is already being done, and some part of this would be the visits last year of a British—of an American ship, plus other ships from other countries. We're doing this for them. And the most recent example is the visit here in Manila and later on in the Subic area, of the ships that went on to participate in the Leyte landings.

In regard to the so-called floating depots, we really have not seen any official proposal in regard to that kind of an arrangement. And we will, however, be happy to consider this at the level of the working officials, meaning at the level of the mutual defense board. But by no means is that a policy right now of the Philippine Government.

Now, as far as directions that I would like to see the security relationship between the Philippines and the U.S. is concerned, I think

I said that on many occasions during the course of this day—I said we would like to be closely related with the U.S. under our U.S.-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty which has been in force since 1951. And under this arrangement, we're able to have combined and joint exercises to test the interoperability of our military units.

The Philippines derives a great deal of benefit from this kind of an exchange because we get to know what are the new technologies in military science. And also, under the treaty, there is a regular mechanism for consultation among our highest military officials, represented on the part of the U.S. by the commander in chief of the Pacific no less, and our chief of staff of the armed forces.

So we feel that this is a very important relationship, and the approach must be based on our commitments under the Philippine-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty.

Thank you.

#### **Republican Leadership**

**Q.** I'd like to ask President Clinton—sir, a lot of world leaders are wondering about the meaning of Tuesday's elections. As you go into APEC and talk with these other world leaders, what will you tell them about the Republican takeover of Congress and what that means about the strength of your administration and the direction of U.S. foreign policy?

**President Clinton.** First, I would say that I don't expect it to have any impact on our foreign policy. The Republican House and Senate leaders—and I spoke, as you know, before I came—they expressed their support for this trip and for our policy generally. The foreign policies that I have pursued, particularly the mission that I'm on now with regard to APEC, have enjoyed broad bipartisan support among centrists in both parties. And insofar as they have drawn opposition, they have drawn some opposition again from both parties, particularly in the trade area.

But I believe that the position of the United States is certainly just as strong as it ever has been. Beyond that, we do not have a parliamentary system. The power vested by the Constitution in the President will represent the United States in foreign affairs, particularly in areas of this kind, is quite clear.

But the most important thing is, I'm convinced that what I'm doing is in the interest of all the American people without regard to party and is supported by leaders of both parties in the United States Congress.

I hope you wear that tie at home sometime when we are having a dark day. *[Laughter]*

#### **Toxic Waste Clean-up**

**Q.** Good evening. President Clinton, in a hearing at the Philippine Senate a few days ago, a group of scientists, citing Pentagon report, identified more than 40 sites in Clark and Subic believed to be contaminated with hazardous waste. Your Government has offered financial assistance and technical support for surveys to check if there are environmental damages in both former U.S. military bases. Is your Government willing to accept moral as well as financial responsibility for cleaning up the bases in case this service proves that there are toxic wastes in Clark and Subic?

**President Clinton.** First of all, I'd like to point out that when the United States left Subic Bay, we spent about \$6 million on clean-up, and we left 5,000 acres of virgin tropical forest, which was an enormous environmental resource for the Philippines. We have, since that time, worked very hard to cooperate with the authorities here about what the condition of Subic Bay is and each area of the bay. It's a vast area, as you know. We will continue to do that and to exchange information and to work on it.

We have no reason to believe at this time that there is a big problem that we left untended, first of all. We clearly are not mandated under any treaty obligations to do more, but we are concerned. We want Subic Bay to be a vast economic resource for the Philippines in a way that preserves the environmental heritage of the area.

We were very pleased and supportive of the agreement signed, I believe just today, and witnessed by the Secretary of State, between Federal Express and the authorities there to develop the area in a responsible way.

So we're excited by this; we want it to be a very good thing for you. We have spent some money there, we have given some important environmental resources, and we are

continuing to work on it. But in the absence of the evidence of some serious problem that we left untended. I don't think I can commit at this moment to further expenditures. But I can tell you we are continuing to work with the Philippine Government on this, and we will continue to do so.

**President Ramos.** May I just add by way of confirmation, ladies and gentlemen, that I brought up the issue during our one-on-one talk with President Clinton, and he readily agreed that at the level of the technical people and the working people, principally in the departments of foreign affairs, environment and natural resources as well as the base authorities, that we put all our expertise together about the subject, because we have studies on our side, there are records on the part of the U.S. Government which have not yet been thoroughly collated, so that we will get to the truth of the matter. And while it may not be just toxic waste, we may really be talking here about pollutants which could have been sourced from many other places in addition to the naval forces in Subic. But anyway, we will get a good effort going together. Thank you.

**President Clinton.** If I could add just one more sentence. President Ramos did bring this up and we talked about it in some detail. What I would like to say is, on a matter like this, I think it is very important not to let the general policy pronouncements or the rhetoric outrun the facts we have on the case, so we decided we should focus on finding the facts now, and when we find them, deal then with the facts as they are.

#### **Cooperation With Republican Leaders**

**Q.** Mr. President, Newt Gingrich, who is likely to be the next Speaker of the House, said the other day that he thought on the many things where he believes he represents the vast majority of America there will be no compromise. Cooperation, he said, yes; but compromise, no. Given this, do you expect to be able to work with Republicans, and can you move far enough toward the center to work with them and still not alienate the core constituency of your own party and perhaps invite a challenger for renomination?

**President Clinton.** Well, first of all, I think that any rational analysis of our position

would say that's where we have been. It was not the opposition party, it was the Democrats that reduced the size of the Federal Government and reduced the Federal deficit for the first time in a very long time, the Democrats that passed a crime bill that had the toughest punishments of any crime bill in American history. So I think we will be in the center.

There are several specific things that they have advocated that I have long agreed with. To mention just two, I ran on the line-item veto, and I ran on welfare reform. And I presented a welfare reform bill to the Congress last spring. So I think there will be other areas in which we can work together. I am still looking for ways—the Vice President and I have had at least three different discussions, two before and once since the election, about how we can carry forward our downsizing the Federal Government with the reinventing Government initiative. So I think there will be many areas in which we can work together.

Will there be some areas of disagreement? Of course there will. What is my standard? My standard is, does it make America stronger or weaker to do this? As I said, does it weaken our posture abroad in terms of national defense and economic strength? Does it weaken our posture at home in terms of building stronger families, better schools, more high-wage jobs, and safer streets? That is my standard. Insofar as I can work with them, I will do my best to do it.

But my job as President is to make America strong and make the working people of the country who voice their frustrations, their anxieties, their uncertainties, more secure and make sure their children's future is better. That will be what guides me, not the politics of the matter but what makes America strong.

#### **Democratic Governments in Asia**

**Q.** My first question is for President Clinton. The second question will be for President Ramos. President Clinton, some political analysts read your Manila visit as a statement of support to democracy in view of the authoritarian governments of other Eastern countries. Do they read you right? If so, what global, and in particular, American interest

is served by a democratic government in Asia?

And for President Ramos, are you satisfied with the support you are getting from friends like the United States on the path of democracy that you have taken?

**President Clinton.** I want to make sure—my hearing is not the best; I want to make sure that I heard the question right. You asked me what American interests were served by the advance of democracy in Asia. Is that right?

**Q.** Why you chose the Philippines, chose to visit the Philippines of all the other countries.

**President Clinton.** I chose to come to the Philippines partly because of the stunning success and resurgence of democracy here in the last 8 years. I chose to come here because I thought I ought to be here during this period when we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the return to freedom of the Philippines. And I came here, frankly, because of the relationship I enjoy with your President and my immense admiration for him and for what he is trying to do not only in preserving democracy and enhancing individual rights but in modernizing the Philippine economy and trying to give the people here the kind of prosperity that they deserve for their hard work, which is legendary the world over. So those are the three reasons that I came here.

Do I believe that democracy in general advances the cause and the interest of the United States? Yes, I do. Democracies are highly unlikely to go to war with each other. They are more likely to keep their word to each other. They are more likely to see their future greatness in terms of developing the human potential of their people rather than building walls around their country, either economic walls or military walls.

No democracies are perfect. All democracies have their ups and downs. But on balance, the world has been much better served by the march of democracy. And the United States is more secure when there are more democracies. Our national defense interests are threatened less; our economic interests are enhanced more. So that is why I intend to continue to push this throughout the world.

**President Ramos.** I may just make two points very clear. First of all, we are trying to achieve economic and social reform in this country under a democratic framework. While this may be a little more time consuming and may require a little more patience than other systems, we feel we are on the right track. And we are now seeing the initial fruits of that devotion to the rule of laws, to people power, and to the overall democratic system.

Secondly, I think no one can ignore the fact that over the last 20 years, there are now more democracies functioning in Asia-Pacific, our region, than there were two decades ago. And so, to me, this is the right track. And the Philippines is following precisely that way to its political, social, economic, and cultural development.

**Q.** Mr. President, it's clear that security and trade will be among the issues discussed at the APEC conference, but there is some speculation at this point that perhaps human rights will not come up. Specifically, do you intend on discussing human rights with China and Indonesia?

**President Clinton.** Absolutely. Let me make a distinction here between the APEC conference itself, the purpose of which by the very name of the group is economic cooperation, and the bilateral meetings that I will have with the leaders of the individual countries. And in both the cases that you mentioned, human rights has been discussed in every meeting I've had and will be discussed in these meetings.

It's an important interest of the United States. We are engaging these countries in many, many areas, across a broad range of areas. And human rights is too important, particularly now, to pass by us. So it will be a point of discussion in those bilateral meetings.

**Press Secretary Myers.** That concludes the press conference. Thank you very much.

**President Clinton.** Thank you.

**President Ramos.** Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to make a small presentation to President Clinton, since he stayed for such a short while and could not play golf in our Malacanang Golf Club.

[At this point, President Clinton was presented with a hat.]

**President Clinton.** You owe me a golf game. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 79th news conference began at 6:20 p.m. in Kalayaan Hall in Malacanang Palace.

### **The President's News Conference in Jakarta, Indonesia** *November 14, 1994*

**The President.** I'm very glad to be here in Indonesia for this APEC meeting. As I said before I left the United States, I am here because this opportunity for me to meet with leaders throughout this region can lead to more economic opportunities for Americans and a reduced threat of nuclear proliferation.

Today I had the opportunity to meet with President Jiang Zemin of China, Prime Minister Murayama of Japan, Prime Minister Keating of Australia, and President Kim of South Korea. The most important topic of our conversations was the situation on the Korean Peninsula. All the leaders indicated their strong support for the agreement we reached with North Korea to freeze and then to dismantle its ability to build nuclear weapons. All agreed on the importance of resuming the dialog between North and South Korea. This agreement marks an historic step to freeze and, ultimately, to end the greatest security threat in this region.

Prime Minister Murayama of Japan and South Korean President Kim agreed that we must maintain our close cooperation as we begin to implement the agreement. And the three of us plan to meet briefly again later this evening to follow up on our earlier conversations.

In all my meetings today I made it clear that the fundamental interests of the United States in the Pacific remain unchanged. And each of the leaders welcomed the assurance that the United States will continue to exercise active leadership in the region.

In each of the meetings today there was also strong agreement that the early ratification of GATT would be absolutely essential to maintaining the climate that promotes global economic growth and expanding trade. I told each of the leaders that I would do everything that I could to pass the GATT,

that Congress would come back soon, and that I thought it would pass. It was clear to me that the rest of the world is looking to the United States for leadership on this issue. It's also clear to me, I will say again, that it is very much in our interest to pass GATT because it means more high-wage jobs for Americans.

Finally, in each of the meetings we discussed the APEC leaders meeting which begins tonight. I expressed my strong support for the efforts of President Soeharto to build on the common vision of the Asian-Pacific community that we set forth at Seattle last year in the first of these leaders meetings.

This week's discussions I believe will allow us to take a critical step forward toward free and open trade throughout the region. After all, this is very important to the United States. Already one-third of our exports go to the Asia-Pacific region; already 2 million American jobs are tied to this region. This is the fastest growing part of the world. So it is very important that we proceed first with GATT and second with APEC so that we can continue the economic recovery at home and continue to provide increasing opportunities for our people.

All these meetings today reinforced my beliefs that the United States is strong in the Asian-Pacific region, that we are getting stronger in this region, and that in so doing we are strengthening Americans economically and in terms of our security. In short, we are moving in the right direction. This is a good investment. We need to make the most of it.

### **North Korea**

**Q.** Mr. President, APEC—as an economic organization—what kind of statement of support or commitment are you seeking from APEC about implementing the nuclear agreement with North Korea? Are you hoping that all the leaders have something to say on this?

**The President.** I think that the leaders who are most concerned with it may have something to say. I don't know that the organization itself will.

President Kim and I obviously have worked most heavily on it. And Prime Minister Murayama has been terribly interested

in it. But we had a long discussion today between President Jiang Zemin and myself about it, and it will become a topic of conversation elsewhere, as well. Prime Minister Keating was very intent on being supportive of the agreement.

I don't know that there will be an APEC statement, because it's an economic group. But I have not yet talked to anyone who does not believe it's an important first step forward and that it ought to be implemented.

### **East Timor**

**Q.** Mr. President, as you know, some students have taken over or have occupied the parking lot in the U.S. Embassy here and are calling for the release of one of the leaders of the Timor human rights movement. They've asked to meet with you, sir. Has there been any contact between your entourage and these students? And how do you feel about their demands?

**The President.** Well, first, the whole issue of East Timor has been of a concern to the United States at least since I've been President. I talked about it in the campaign of 1992, and we have raised it in our conversations with Indonesian leaders. We will continue to do so. The contacts they've had, insofar as I know them, have occurred in an appropriate way through our Embassy there. But this is an issue which is a part of our dialog with the Indonesians, and it should be.

### **Republican Leadership**

**Q.** Mr. President, Congressman Gingrich is known to feel that he was never properly or publicly thanked for his help on NAFTA. He has, however, said that he's committed to helping to get the GATT legislation passed. First, have you discussed that issue, the GATT legislation, with him, and do you feel that you have anything else to say to him about his participation in NAFTA?

**The President.** Well, I don't know about that. When NAFTA passed, I tried to be profuse in my thanks to the Republicans, as well as the Democrats. Congressman Gingrich, Mr. Colby, Mr. Dreier, and others were critical in the success of NAFTA, and they are critical to the success of the GATT. I was encouraged by my conversations with both

Congressman Gingrich and Senator Dole about GATT, and I look forward to working with them.

Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News].

**Q.** While you're here having the summit with the Asian-Pacific leaders, I wondered if you'd given any thought to when you return to Washington having sort of a summit with the incoming Republican leaders, some kind of series of face-to-face meetings where you'd work on an initial agenda, and whether, at this point, you're fixed on any kind of strategy toward working with them?

**The President.** Well, my strategy will be to have an open door and to have a lot of contact. And I certainly intend to meet with them. I said before I left in my conversations with Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich that I looked forward to having a chance to meet with them when I come back. I left, frankly, as you know, shortly after the elections, so there wasn't a great deal of opportunity to think through all the details. And I asked them to work with Mr. Panetta about that, and I presume they are doing so.

Yes, sir.

### **North Korea**

**Q.** Mr. President, do you feel that—[in-audible]—President Jiang Zemin said in reaction to the agreement on North Korea nuclear issue? And also, do you expect a firm commitment from Prime Minister Murayama and President Kim when you meet with them later this evening?

**The President.** Well, they all said that they strongly supported the agreement and that they thought it was very important that we continue to work it through. They understood that the implementation of the agreement would not be without difficulty and it would require a lot of efforts on several fronts.

They all also agreed that we ought to see a resumption of the North-South dialog, that these two countries have some things to resolve between themselves that the rest of us simply cannot do for them. A lot of these things they're going to have to talk through themselves. But I was very encouraged by what President Jiang said and what Prime Minister Murayama said and what President Kim said about the agreement. They were

all very forthright and strong in their support of it.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, Cable News Network].

### **Human Rights**

**Q.** Mr. President, some of your critics back home are suggesting you're giving too much importance to trade and economic issues with China, with Indonesia, other members of APEC and not enough to human rights. Specifically, this morning in your meeting with the Chinese leader, you didn't forcefully address these human rights issues, presumably as many human rights groups would like. And at this time that you're here in Indonesia, Amnesty International is suggesting that human rights abuses here in Indonesia are getting worse. How do you respond to these critics?

**The President.** That the United States, perhaps more than any other country in the world, consistently and regularly raises human rights issues. There was a discussion of human rights issues in the meeting with President Jiang Zemin this morning in which a number of specific things were raised and in which we made it absolutely clear that in order for the United States' relationship with China to fully flower, there had to be progress on all fronts.

So I think it was quite clear. And as I said, I have met with President Soeharto before; I have met with these other leaders before. Wherever there is a clear human rights problem, I have tried to address it and will continue to do so and use whatever influence we can in a positive way.

### **United Nations and Foreign Aid**

**Q.** Senator Helms is talking about cuts in foreign aid and cuts for U.N. funding, saying that a lot of our money in years past has gone down what he called "foreign ratholes." Does this bode well for your relationship with him, and does it undercut your position at meetings like this one?

**The President.** Well, let me say, first of all, I think that all Americans would agree that not every dollar that was spent by the United Nations in the past was spent as efficiently as possible. We have been very active since Ambassador Albright has been at the United Nations in pushing for U.N. reforms

to increase the efficiency of the organization and to increase the impact of the dollars and other currencies that are spent there. And we have made some progress in improving the efficiency of the United Nations. I am proud of the work that Madeleine Albright and others have done in supporting that.

Now, having said that, it still seems to me that we are far better off working where we can with other nations of the world and trying to make our fair contribution as long as we know our dollars are going to be well spent.

If I might just point out, one of the things that we're looking forward to as we go through the various phases of our mission in Haiti is turning over our mission to a United Nations operation to complete the overall mission in Haiti of training the police force, the armed forces, and being there until the next elections are conducted. That's an area in our own backyard where the presence of the United Nations and the willingness of other nations to participate and to contribute is of economic benefit to us.

So I think we have to be—I agree with anyone, including Senator Helms, who wants the United Nations to be efficiently run and to say we have to continue to work at it. But I do not agree that it is a mistake for us to support peacekeeping. I think it is a good thing, a good allocation of our resources if properly done. And I would hope to be able to persuade a majority of both parties in the Congress, and in the Senate especially where there's so much foreign affairs interest, that that is the right course.

### **Human Rights Demonstrations**

**Q.** [Inaudible]—protesters at the Embassy are demonstrating the best nonviolent American tradition. And we're all going to move on, but they're going to still be here and have to face the justice system. Are you going to send any signal to the Indonesian Government this week that we're worried about how they'll be treated after we're all gone?

**The President.** We've already done that. We've already said that we had no problem with these young people coming and expressing their views in our Embassy grounds, that we talked with them, we worked with them. And we have been assured that there will be no retribution against them for exercising

their political expression and bringing their concerns to us. We have been assured of that, and I feel comfortable that the commitment we receive will be honored.

#### **APEC Summit**

**Q.** [*Inaudible*—economic summit. I understand that you're hoping that a timetable of action aimed at liberalizing trade comes out of this meeting. That may not seem like a giant political payoff for people back home, and I'm wondering how do you explain what the benefits of this meeting are to Americans who are wondering why you came to Jakarta?

**The President.** Well, first of all, let's wait and see what happens. But I would like to make two comments about it. I told the American people when I sought this office that it was necessary for the President to look to the long-term economic interest of the country as well as to the short-term economic interests of the country, that we were moving into a global economy in which we had to make long-term commitments and expect others to make them if we wanted Americans to have good jobs, stable incomes, and brighter futures.

We don't yet know—I don't want to jump the gun on what the agreement will be, but I think most Americans would like it very much to know that at some date certain that every market in this part of the world, the fastest growing part of the world, with already some of the most powerful economies in the world, would be as open to our products as our markets are to theirs. I think Americans would like that.

And I would ask that the Americans who want immediate results to remember that after 2 years of hard work, we have the economy going in the right direction. We need to provide more stability and higher wages in it and more security, ability to afford health care and things of that kind. And we have seen some significant advances in foreign policy in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Haiti, with the missile agreement with China, with the nuclear agreement with North Korea. These things take time, but you do get the pay-off if you invest the time.

This is a remarkable thing, the fact that these 15 leaders are meeting for the second time in 2 years and talking about ripping

down the barriers that divide us so that all of our people can be more prosperous in the future.

I did not want, when I became President, I did not want to see this world polarized by trading blocs which would take the place of the nuclear blocs of the cold war. I wanted to see regions cooperate within themselves but also reach out beyond their borders. That's what I have worked for in Europe, in Latin America, in Africa, and certainly in Asia. It is the fastest growing part of the world. The American people cannot be as prosperous as they need to be unless we succeed here in Asia.

Thank you.

#### **Bosnia**

**Q.** Mr. President, we haven't heard you on Bosnia. Do you care to say something about that?

**The President.** Well, I can say that I obviously have been very concerned about the events of the last few days in Bihac. We have tabled a—we have put forth a proposal to our allies there and to the members of the Contact Group. And we are hoping to see the situation stabilize.

**Q.** What about the embargo, the criticism that you——

**The President.** We have been criticized by some of our allies, but I think they need to understand the situation. The United States Congress has a heavy majority in favor of unilateral lifting of the arms embargo. Instead of that, we got a bill through the Congress which said that we should pursue a multilateral lift of the arms embargo through the United Nations if the Contact Group proposal was not adopted but that we would stop spending American tax dollars to enforce the embargo directly.

Now we know that the Bosnian Government itself, which enjoys such wide support in the Congress in both parties, has asked us not to lift the arms embargo for a period of 6 months while they continue to work to try to sell the Contact Group proposal.

We have worked very hard in the last few days—I want to compliment the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense and others in our administration, including the United Nations Ambassador and the National Secu-

rity Adviser—we've all worked hard to try to explain to our allies exactly what we have done and what we have not done. We are not violating the arms embargo. We are observing the international arms embargo. We will continue to do it. But the arrangement which we have adopted on enforcement is the product of intense negotiations in the United States Congress, which Senator Nunn and others helped us to work out to avoid what I believe would have been a very serious mistake, which would have been a unilateral vote by the Congress to lift the arms embargo.

Thank you.

**Q.** Mr. President, can you take one question from Indonesian press?

**The President.** Yes, I think I owe you one. I was looking for someone to raise their hand. Go ahead, I'll give you one.

#### ***Military Sales and the APEC Summit***

**Q.** Mr. President, does the relationship between the civilian and the military in a developing country affect U.S. military sales to the country?

**The President.** Well, there are many things that affect United States military sales to a country. And so I guess the answer to that would be, it depends on the facts; it would depend on the specifics of a case. But we have been quite careful in what we do with our military equipment and sales, and we will continue to do that.

You didn't ask this question, but I do think I should say again—I want to hammer this home for the Indonesian press, if not for the American press—this is a remarkable thing that is being done here in Indonesia and quite remarkable that President Soeharto is trying to spearhead a clear and specific commitment on the part of all these nations in the fastest growing part of the world to tear down their trade barriers. It is a very significant thing.

So far as I know, there is no precedent for it. I had hoped such a thing would occur when I convened the leaders in Seattle last year, but I knew that this was something that would have to bubble up from the grassroots, from the people in the fast-growing economies of Asia. And this is a remarkable meeting that, in history, will be looked back

on as a very important part of what the world looks like well into the 21st century.

Thank you.

**Q.** Any jet lag?

**The President.** Just a tad. I think I'm still somewhere between Jordan and Jerusalem. [Laughter]

NOTE: The President's 80th news conference began at 4:37 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama of Japan; Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia; President Kim Yong-sam of South Korea; and President Soeharto of Indonesia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

#### **Executive Order 12938— Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction**

*November 14, 1994*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), the Arms Export Control Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2751 *et seq.*), Executive Orders Nos. 12851 and 12924, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code,

**I, William J. Clinton**, President of the United States of America, find that the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons ("weapons of mass destruction") and of the means of delivering such weapons, constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

Accordingly, I hereby order:

**Section 1. International Negotiations.** It is the policy of the United States to lead and seek multilaterally coordinated efforts with other countries to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering such weapons. Accordingly, the Secretary of State shall cooperate in and lead multilateral efforts to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

**Sec. 2. Imposition of Controls.** As provided herein, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce shall use their respective authorities, including the Arms Export Control Act and the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, to control any exports, to the extent they are not already controlled by the Department of Energy and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, that either Secretary determines would assist a country in acquiring the capability to develop, produce, stockpile, deliver, or use weapons of mass destruction or their means of delivery. The Secretary of State shall pursue early negotiations with foreign governments to adopt effective measures comparable to those imposed under this order.

**Sec. 3. Department of Commerce Controls.** (a) The Secretary of Commerce shall prohibit the export of any goods, technology, or services subject to the Secretary's export jurisdiction that the Secretary of Commerce determines, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and other appropriate officials, would assist a foreign country in acquiring the capability to develop, produce, stockpile, deliver, or use weapons of mass destruction or their means of delivery. The Secretary of State shall pursue early negotiations with foreign governments to adopt effective measures comparable to those imposed under this section.

(b) Subsection (a) of this section will not apply to exports relating to a particular category of weapons of mass destruction (i.e., nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons) if their destination is a country with whose government the United States has entered into a bilateral or multilateral arrangement for the control of that category of weapons of mass destruction-related goods (including delivery systems) and technology, or maintains domestic export controls comparable to controls that are imposed by the United States with respect to that category of goods and technology, or that are otherwise deemed adequate by the Secretary of State.

(c) The Secretary of Commerce shall require validated licenses to implement this order and shall coordinate any license applications with the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

(d) The Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall take such actions, including the promulgation of rules, regulations, and amendments thereto, as may be necessary to continue to regulate the activities of United States persons in order to prevent their participation in activities that could contribute to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or their means of delivery, as provided in the Export Administration Regulations, set forth in Title 15, Chapter VII, Subchapter C, of the Code of Federal Regulations, Parts 768 to 799 inclusive.

**Sec. 4. Sanctions Against Foreign Persons.**

(a) In addition to the sanctions imposed on foreign persons as provided in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991 and the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991, sanctions also shall be imposed on a foreign person with respect to chemical and biological weapons proliferation if the Secretary of State determines that the foreign person on or after the effective date of this order or its predecessor, Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, knowingly and materially contributed to the efforts of any foreign country, project, or entity to use, develop, produce, stockpile, or otherwise acquire chemical or biological weapons.

(b) No department or agency of the United States Government may procure, or enter into any contract for the procurement of, any goods or services from any foreign person described in subsection (a) of this section. The Secretary of the Treasury shall prohibit the importation into the United States of products produced by that foreign person.

(c) Sanctions pursuant to this section may be terminated or not imposed against foreign persons if the Secretary of State determines that there is reliable evidence that the foreign person concerned has ceased all activities referred to in subsection (a).

(d) The Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury may provide appropriate exemptions for procurement contracts necessary to meet U.S. operational military requirements or requirements under defense production agreements, sole source suppliers, spare parts, components, routine servicing and maintenance of products, and medi-

cal and humanitarian items. They may provide exemptions for contracts in existence on the date of this order under appropriate circumstances.

**Sec. 5. Sanctions Against Foreign Countries.** (a) In addition to the sanctions imposed on foreign countries as provided in the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991, sanctions also shall be imposed on a foreign country as specified in subsection (b) of this section, if the Secretary of State determines that the foreign country has, on or after the effective date of this order or its predecessor, Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, (1) used chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law; (2) made substantial preparations to use chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law; or (3) developed, produced, stockpiled, or otherwise acquired chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law.

(b) The following sanctions shall be imposed on any foreign country identified in subsection (a)(1) of this section unless the Secretary of State determines, on grounds of significant foreign policy or national security, that any individual sanction should not be applied. The sanctions specified in this section may be made applicable to the countries identified in subsections (a)(2) or (a)(3) when the Secretary of State determines that such action will further the objectives of this order pertaining to proliferation. The sanctions specified in subsection (b)(2) below shall be imposed with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury.

(1) *Foreign Assistance.* No assistance shall be provided to that country under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, or any successor act, or the Arms Export Control Act, other than assistance that is intended to benefit the people of that country directly and that is not channeled through governmental agencies or entities of that country.

(2) *Multilateral Development Bank Assistance.* The United States shall oppose any loan or financial or technical assistance to that country by international financial institutions in accordance with section 701 of the International Financial Institutions Act (22 U.S.C. 262d).

(3) *Denial of Credit or Other Financial Assistance.* The United States shall deny to that country any credit or financial assistance by any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States Government.

(4) *Prohibition of Arms Sales.* The United States Government shall not, under the Arms Export Control Act, sell to that country any defense articles or defense services or issue any license for the export of items on the United States Munitions List.

(5) *Exports of National Security-Sensitive Goods and Technology.* No exports shall be permitted of any goods or technologies controlled for national security reasons under the Export Administration Regulations.

(6) *Further Export Restrictions.* The Secretary of Commerce shall prohibit or otherwise substantially restrict exports to that country of goods, technology, and services (excluding agricultural commodities and products otherwise subject to control).

(7) *Import Restrictions.* Restrictions shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of articles (that may include petroleum or any petroleum product) that are the growth, product, or manufacture of that country.

(8) *Landing Rights.* At the earliest practicable date, the Secretary of State shall terminate, in a manner consistent with international law, the authority of any air carrier that is controlled in fact by the government of that country to engage in air transportation (as defined in section 101(10) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (49 U.S.C. App. 1301(10))).

**Sec. 6. Duration.** Any sanctions imposed pursuant to sections 4 or 5 of this order shall remain in force until the Secretary of State determines that lifting any sanction is in the foreign policy or national security interests of the United States or, as to sanctions under section 4 of this order, until the Secretary has made the determination under section 4(c).

**Sec. 7. Implementation.** The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of Commerce are hereby authorized and directed to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. These actions, and

in particular those in sections 4 and 5 of this order, shall be made in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and, as appropriate, other agency heads and shall be implemented in accordance with procedures established pursuant to Executive Order No. 12851. The Secretary concerned may redelegate any of these functions to other officers in agencies of the Federal Government. All heads of departments and agencies of the United States Government are directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including the suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations.

**Sec. 8. Preservation of Authorities.** Nothing in this order is intended to affect the continued effectiveness of any rules, regulations, orders, licenses, or other forms of administrative action issued, taken, or continued in effect heretofore or hereafter under the authority of the International Economic Emergency Powers Act, the Export Administration Act, the Arms Export Control Act, the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act, Executive Order No. 12730 of September 30, 1990, Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, Executive Order No. 12924 of August 18, 1994, and Executive Order No. 12930 of September 29, 1994.

**Sec. 9. Judicial Review.** This order is not intended to create, nor does it create, any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, officers, or any other person.

**Sec. 10. Revocation of Executive Orders Nos. 12735 and 12930.** Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, and Executive Order No. 12930 of September 29, 1994, are hereby revoked.

**Sec. 11. Effective Date.** This order is effective immediately.

This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
November 14, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
3:16 p.m., November 14, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on November 15.

## **Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction**

*November 14, 1994*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and section 201 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), I hereby report to the Congress that I have exercised my statutory authority to declare a national emergency and to issue an Executive order that consolidates the functions of two existing Executive orders, eliminates provisions that have been superseded by legislation, and expands certain existing authorizations in order to enhance our ability to respond to the threat of weapons of mass destruction-related proliferation activities around the world.

The new Executive order consolidates the functions of Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, that declared a national emergency with respect to the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and Executive Order No. 12930 of September 29, 1994, that declared a national emergency with respect to nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and of the means of delivering such weapons. This new order includes all of the authorities in Executive Order No. 12930 and, with the exception discussed below, continues the authorities previously in Executive Order No. 12735.

The new order eliminates certain redundant authorities and other authorities that will be rendered unnecessary in the wake of congressional or multilateral action. The order eliminates obsolete provisions relating to the negotiation of a global convention relating to chemical weapons (CW) because the Chemical Weapons Convention has already been negotiated, signed, and is now in the ratification process. The order also eliminates an obsolete requirement to develop a list of items for CW-related controls. Such a list and the controls in question have already been implemented.

Finally, the new order provides additional authorization to further important non-proliferation goals that are not present in existing legislation or the other Executive orders. First, the order expands previous provisions on the imposition of export controls by referring to weapons of mass destruction and missiles rather than to chemical and biological weapons. Second, the order provides for the imposition of sanctions on foreign persons for proliferation activity contributing to chemical and biological weapons programs in any country. Existing sanctions legislation is limited, absent Presidential action, to activity that contributes to chemical and biological weapons programs in the countries on the terrorist list. This provision closes a loophole in the existing sanctions legislation and comports with the global requirement of the Chemical Weapons Convention not to assist CW programs anywhere in the world.

I have authorized these actions in view of the danger posed to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States by the continuing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of Commerce are authorized to take such actions and to issue any regulations necessary to implement these requirements. These actions shall be implemented in accordance with procedures established under Executive Order No. 12851 of June 11, 1993. I am enclosing a copy of the Executive order that I have issued exercising these authorities.

My Administration continues to believe that the harmonized proliferation sanctions legislation it included as part of the proposed new Export Administration Act represents the best means of maximizing the effectiveness of sanctions as a tool of U.S. non-proliferation policy while minimizing adverse economic impacts on U.S. exporters. Until such harmonized sanctions legislation is enacted, however, I believe that it is appropriate as an interim measure to take the steps described above to consolidate and streamline the restrictions of the former non-proliferation Executive orders.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

## **The President's News Conference in Jakarta**

*November 15, 1994*

**The President.** Good evening—or good morning, to the people who are watching this back in America. [*Laughter*] At our meeting in Bogor today, the Asian-Pacific leaders pledged to achieve free and fair trade and investment between our nations by the year 2020, with the industrialized countries reaching this goal by 2010. This agreement is good news for the countries of this region and especially good news for the United States and our workers. I want to thank President Soeharto for hosting this meeting and for his leadership in crafting the agreement.

When the United States brought the APEC leaders together in Seattle for the very first time last year, we agreed on a common vision of a united, open trading system. At this year's meeting, we have committed to make that vision real through free and fair trade and to do it by a date certain. We'll meet again next year in Osaka. Meanwhile, we'll develop a detailed action agenda, a blueprint, for achieving our goal of free and fair trade, which I hope and believe will be approved when we meet in Osaka.

APEC is primarily an economic organization, and today's talks focused on those issues. While I believe stronger trade ties also will lead to more open societies, I remain committed to pursuing our human rights agenda, as I did in my individual meetings with the leaders this week. This is an agenda we must be willing to pursue with both patience and determination, and we will.

From the beginning of this administration, we have worked to create high-wage jobs and a high-growth economy for the 20th century by expanding our ability to trade with and do business with other nations. The Asia-Pacific region is key to the success of this strategy because it's the fastest growing region in the world, with rapidly expanding middle classes who are potential American customers. Already a third of our exports go to these nations, with 2 million American jobs

tied to them. And we know that export related jobs on average pay much higher than regular jobs in America.

These free and fair trade agreements will benefit Americans for a simple reason: Our Nation already has the most open markets on Earth. By opening other markets, our products and services become more competitive, and more sales abroad create more high-wage jobs at home.

Under this agreement, individual APEC nations will have to tear down trade barriers to reap trade benefits. And no country will get more in benefits than it gives; no free riders. Today's agreement will lower barriers even further than the historic GATT world trade agreement.

Let me just give you one example. Even after the GATT world trade agreement takes effect, tariffs on American automobiles in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines will still be between 30 and 60 percent, lower than they are today but very high. By contrast, our tariffs on automobiles are 2.5 percent.

The market in just these four countries alone in 6 years will be as great as the total market in Canada and Mexico combined. This APEC agreement will knock down Asian tariffs even further, and American autos will, therefore, be more affordable. That means for an autoworker in Detroit or Toledo more secure jobs and factories with more workers, factories that are growing, not shrinking.

I'm proud of the leadership of the United States in creating a post-cold-war world that is both safer and more prosperous, a better place for Americans to live and work in. Trade agreements like NAFTA, the GATT agreement, and now the Bogor Declaration, along with the Summit of the Americas next month, are important in their own way just as are the agreements we've made with the Russians and Ukraine on nuclear missiles, the North Korean nuclear agreement, and the agreement on missile deployments with China. I'm convinced this declaration will prove to be of historic importance.

Americans may hear about this declaration and think, well, 2010 is a long time to wait for any benefits. That is—let me emphasize—the completion date for the process. The benefits will begin for America as soon

as we begin to implement the blueprint, which we will develop in this coming year.

But first things first. Our first meeting in Seattle last year created the conditions that helped make it possible to get agreement among the nations of the world on the GATT world trade agreement. Without the meeting in Seattle, we might well not have had a GATT agreement.

Now, when we return to Washington, our first order of business must be for Congress to pass the GATT. Every leader I spoke with here—every leader I spoke with here—asked me about United States leadership on GATT and on world trade issues generally. America's opportunities and our responsibilities demand a spirit of bipartisanship, especially when it comes to keeping our country strong abroad.

That cooperation was demonstrated in the historic NAFTA victory and in the encouragement I received from the Republican leaders before I left for this trip. Now, I call upon the Congress, Members of both parties, to use this momentum from this trip to pass the GATT. The economic recovery going on in our country and taking hold in the world depends upon the passage of GATT and our continued leadership.

At the end of the Second World War, the United States had a bipartisan effort to create an enduring partnership with our allies that helped keep the peace and helped spawn an era of global prosperity, that created enormous opportunities for the American people.

Now, at the end of the cold war, we are building a new framework for peace and prosperity that will take us into the future. It is imperative that the United States lead as we move toward this new century. That is our great opportunity, and that is the best way we can help all Americans toward a more prosperous future.

### ***East Timor***

**Q.** Mr. President, as you know, nearly two decades ago, the Portuguese withdrew from East Timor, and the Indonesian military moved in. Sir, do you feel East Timor deserves self-rule, and tomorrow when you meet with President Soeharto, will you ask him to withdraw his troops and allow East Timor to pursue democratic elections?

**The President.** The position of the United States and the position that I have held since 1991, since long before I held this office, is that the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs. I have already spoken with President Soeharto about this in the past in our personal meetings, and it will come up again in our discussion tomorrow.

### **Interest Rates**

**Q.** Mr. President, back on economics, the Federal Reserve raised interest rates five times this year, and they're expected to do so again today. Many critics think the Fed has gone too far—to push the country into—

**The President.** Well, of course, the pressure that it's under is because of world trading and currencies. I would just like to point out that the United States has produced over 5 million jobs in 22 months. We have the lowest inflation in 29 years. We have more high-wage jobs this year than in the previous 5 years.

So yes, it is important to keep the proper balance, to keep our currency stable, and to keep going and growing. But we are having investment-led growth based on highly productive workers with no inflation. So I just would say the important thing is to make every judgment based on what it takes to keep economic growth going in the United States. And I am very proud of what we have done, and I think we have to continue to pursue this course. I'm going to do what I can control.

I have noticed, however, that almost anything I say about this may be misinterpreted, not just here but primarily around the world. So I'm not going to comment on it, except to say, the United States has an economic growth pattern that is the envy of advanced nations of the world. We're growing at a healthy rate. We have literally the lowest inflation in 29 years. And finally, we're creating some high-wage jobs after years and years and years of stagnant wages for American working people.

So I'm going to do everything I can to keep that recovery going. And I believe that the members of the Fed will do their best to keep the recovery going. That's what I would

urge them to do and to make the best judgment they can.

### **Cooperation With Republican Leaders**

**Q.** Mr. President, while you've been here, Republicans are preparing the transition, over in the House and the Senate. As you've been monitoring their comments, what is your sense—is there going to be a big fight, or is there going to be an opportunity for some consensus, some cooperation? And when will you invite the new Republican leadership to the White House for a sort of mini-summit that's been talked about?

**The President.** I believe that Mr. Panetta is meeting with them today, as we all agreed before I left. And I look forward to meeting with them as soon as I can, as convenient with all of our schedules when I get back.

And as I said, I am willing to cooperate. There are areas in which I believe we can cooperate. I have mentioned several: the line-item veto, the welfare reform, continued reductions in the Federal Government, and continuation of our whole reinventing Government initiative so that we can do more with less. On the middle class tax cut, I believe the first thing we had to do was to get control of the deficit and to do as much as we could on that. We got as far as 15 million families in 1993. We got up to \$27,000 in income. I would like very much to go further, but we mustn't explode the deficit. We've got to pay for it.

So there are all these areas where I think we can work together and where I am certainly willing to. And that's the spirit in which I will go home.

### **The Role of the Presidency**

**Q.** You mentioned a few moments ago that this was a historic agreement. I'm wondering in light of this meeting and the other meetings you've had over—it's not perhaps beginning to seem to you that perhaps foreign affairs and foreign trade is really the essence of the modern Presidency, more so than domestic and especially in light of what you're looking ahead to in the next few years.

**The President.** Well, first of all, I think that the Presidency is certainly more than making laws. And the Congress has to pass laws. And I've always thought that.

But let me emphasize to you that I do not believe that I could be here doing what I am doing today if we hadn't taken vigorous action to bring the deficit down and if we hadn't passed the NAFTA agreement in Congress and if we hadn't also already taken strong steps to try to protect and promote the interests of ordinary Americans, including the family leave law, the crime bill, and things that address our problems at home.

I see these things as two sides of the same coin. I don't believe we can be strong in the world, I don't believe we can secure the future for our working people unless we have good policies at home and good policies abroad. I think that strong families and good education systems and better paying jobs and safe streets and expanding trade and being free from the threat of nuclear war, I think these are two sides of the same coin.

So, to me, I have to do them both. I will say this, there have been more opportunities and more responsibilities in this particular year than even I could have foreseen when I ran for President even last year. A lot of the work that we have been doing came to fruition this year, particularly in the Middle East peace talks, in the Partnership For Peace and what we are doing in Europe, and of course in Asia in expanding economic activities.

I think that more and more the job of the modern President will involve relating with the rest of the world because we are in an interdependent world. Whether we like it or not, money and management and technology are mobile, and the world is interdependent. And we have to make sure Americans do well in that kind of world. And we have the—the President has a special responsibility there.

### ***School Prayer***

**Q.** President Clinton, one of the other things the Republicans talked about yesterday in your press conference was the idea that they would propose a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Is that something that you would support? Do you think the country needs that?

**The President.** Well, what I think the country needs and what I think the schools

need is a sense that there are certain basic values of citizenship, including valuing the right of people to have and express their faith, which can be advocated without crossing the line of the separation of church and state and without in any way undermining the fabric of our society. Indeed, the schools, perhaps today more than ever before, need to be the instrument by which we transfer important values of citizenship.

One of the things that was in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that I signed, that passed with strong bipartisan support, but was little noticed, was the advocacy of basically the teaching of civic values in the schools.

Now, on the school prayer thing, I can only tell you what my personal opinion is about that. I have always supported voluntary prayer in the schools. I have always thought that the question was, when does voluntary prayer really become coercive to people who have different religious views from those that are in the majority in any particular classroom? So that, for example, I personally did not believe that it was coercive to have a prayer at an outdoor sporting event or at a graduation event because I don't believe that is coercive to people who don't participate in it. So I think there is room for that.

Obviously, I want to reserve judgment. I want to see the specifics. But I think this whole values debate will go forward and will intensify in the next year. And again, I would say, this ought to be something that unites the American people, not something that divides us. This ought not to be a partisan debate. The American people do not want us to be partisan, but they do want us to proceed in a way that is consistent with their values and that communicates those values to our children.

So let's just—I'll be glad to discuss it with them. I want to see what the details are. I certainly wouldn't rule it out. It depends on what it says.

### ***Cooperation With Republican Leaders***

**Q.** Mr. President, have you had time to reflect on the elections results, specifically, what happened? And while we've been here, Congressman Gingrich, among his quotes, "This is time to be open to dramatic, bold

changes." That's what you ran on, and I'm wondering if you'll take any new attitude with you to Washington after some time off.

**The President.** Well, first of all, we gave the American people a lot of changes. And the changes we gave them required tough decisions. And if we now are going to have a partnership for further bold changes, nothing could make me happier. But we reduced the deficit more than any time in history. We did it for 3 years in a row for the first time since President Truman. We have reduced the Federal Government by 70,000. We're taking it down to its smallest size since President Kennedy. We have deregulated major parts of the American economy. We have given States the ability to get out from under Federal rules to promote welfare reform, health care reform, education reform. We are making dramatic changes.

I would like to have a bipartisan partnership to go further. There are some things we didn't get done last time that I would like to see done. We ought to be able to have a bipartisan welfare reform bill. I ask only that the same spirit exists there that I exhibited when I was a Democratic Governor in 1988, I reached out my hand in partnership to the Reagan administration and to the Republicans and Democrats in Congress.

There are a lot of things we can do together, and I already mentioned several of them. So I'm very hopeful. And we do need a lot more changes, and we can do them together if we are determined to put America first and not put partisanship first.

**Q.** Mr. President, as you look to the next 2 years of your term and the changed political realities of Washington, is there some previous President that you look to as a sort of model on how you're going to proceed?

**The President.** I don't think so. I don't think that there's an exact historical analogy. I think there are some obvious similarities, but they all break down.

I have read, since I've been President, even though I had read widely about our Presidents before I took office, I've read a number of biographies, histories of the administrations of many Presidents. I have seen times when the usual pattern between a President and Congress was, in fact, more contentious than the one we had the last 2

years. Even though the American people seem to perceive it as very contentious, the truth is that it was, as you know, only the third Congress since World War II when a Congress adopted more than 80 percent of the measures a President recommended. So I think we'll just have to see.

What I need to be guided by is not the past but a devotion to America's future, to making America stronger, to making the future of working people stronger, to the kinds of things that I have worked for. And I will do my best to do that with the facts as they develop. And I'm looking forward to it.

### **Foreign Policy**

**Q.** Mr. President, in mentioning the special responsibility of a President in foreign affairs, do you see any limits on your own personal ability to continue being a personal diplomat, and do you intend to continue the growing pace of travel?

**The President.** Well, as I said, I think that we have had a series of unusual opportunities and responsibilities this year: getting the Partnership For Peace off, getting the nuclear agreement between Russia and Ukraine which led to no Russian missiles being pointed at the United States for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, pursuing the Middle East peace and my meeting with President Asad in Geneva, and then the 3 days I spent in the Middle East. And then, of course, we had the 50th anniversary of World War II. So these things—there were some unusual things which required a great deal of time this year.

I think every President from now on for the foreseeable future will be required to participate in the building of an architecture which promotes peace and prosperity and security for the American people and is increasingly involved in the rest of the world. But I expect that the lion's share of my work will continue to be done at home, and I will continue to do it. I don't think anyone could say I had a less than ambitious domestic agenda this year and didn't pursue it with great vigor. So I think you will just have to—we'll have to do both from now on.

### **Asian-Pacific Trade Agreement**

**Q.** Mr. President, the report reaching us is that China and South Korea do not have to meet the free trade objective until 2020. Does this give these countries an unfair advantage in your opinion, and what will you do to address it?

**The President.** First of all, whether China and South Korea have to meet this objective by 2020 or 2010 depends upon their own rate of growth. That is, there was no definition today of industrialized countries that excluded them in 2010. Indeed, I think most of the people who were in that room today thought that, given South Korea's growth, they might well meet that and, in fact, might be expected to meet it before 2010 and that the Chinese could meet it, depending on whether they're able to sustain a certain level of growth.

Secondly, let me emphasize that while the agreement provides for two different times for the parties to be willing and able to get rid of all their trade barriers, we assume an equivalence of treatment among all the countries so that even if, let's say, China or some other country, Thailand—any country, you name it—doesn't have to go down all the way until 2020, their relationship with the other countries involved, including the advanced countries, will be dictated still by an equivalence. There will be no unilateral give-ups; there will be a negotiated downward movement in the barriers among all parties.

So I think this is very good. This simply recognizes that under the best of circumstances, some nations may be so far away in economic disparities, they may not be able to get there by 2020. There is nothing in those two times that disadvantages, let's say, Japan or Canada, not to mention the United States.

**Q.** Mr. President, given the tough fight that you had over NAFTA and the nervousness over GATT, how can you convince Americans they will benefit from free trade with Asia, especially when there is such a big gap with some countries on workers' wages and rights?

**The President.** I would say—I would make two arguments. First of all, look at the fight we had over NAFTA, and look at the results. We had a 500 percent increase in

automobile exports to Mexico in one year. Our exports to Mexico increased by 19 percent, about almost 3 times what our overall exports went up since NAFTA passed. NAFTA has been a job winner for the United States, and basically the jobs we're gaining in are upper income jobs. So if NAFTA is the test, it should make us want more of these things.

The second point I'd like to make is that when we started APEC—keep in mind the atmosphere that was existing in Seattle last year. When we started APEC, what was the worry? The worry was that the world would be developing into three huge trade blocs: the European Union; the United States, Canada, Mexico, Central, South America and the Caribbean; and Asia, and that Asia was the fastest growing region in the world, that trade among the Asian nations was going up but people were afraid we would be shut out of that market.

So if everything we do has some equivalency to it, that is, if there is no unilateral give-up by the United States, what we are doing in this agreement is opening the fastest growing market in the world. Look at—just take this country we're in, Indonesia. They are growing at a phenomenal rate and have been for quite some time now. Their capacity to purchase, to engage, to trade, and for themselves to compete and win in the global economy is increasing every day.

So what I would say is, we could never walk away from the Asian market; we should be walking toward it in terms that are fair. And that's what I think we're doing.

### **Foreign Policy**

**Q.** Mr. President, how can you prevent the Republicans from blocking foreign policy initiatives you might want to pass, such as the operations—the administration seems increasingly comfortable in multilateral operations such as Haiti; potential U.S. involvement in a future Bosnia peace enforcement operation; potential U.S. commitment to peacekeeping in the Golan. How are you going to prevent the Republicans from blocking you in that area?

**The President.** Well, historically, the Republicans have favored a strong American foreign policy and a robust one. And most

of what I have been able to do as President has enjoyed bipartisan support. And when the same of the things that have not enjoyed Republican support, it also generated significant Democratic support. I had bipartisan opposition to some of the things I have sought to do in foreign policy.

I believe that with careful and honest and open consultations, that in critical matters to our national security, we will be able to put the interest of the United States first. That is certainly the challenge that we must all face.

The Congress and the President have had tensions between them on foreign policy for a very long time now when both parties were in different positions. I don't expect that to go away. And we are creating a new world in which there are new questions to be asked and answered. There's been controversy in foreign policy directions in the last 2 years. I don't expect that to go away. But I do think on the really pivotal matters we'll be able to achieve the kind of bipartisan or perhaps even a nonpartisan consensus to do what's right for the country. That will be my goal.

#### **Asian-Pacific Trade Agreement**

**Q.** Mr. President, this may be historic, but a lot of this is often nonbinding—the APEC accord. And a year ago, this forum was boycotted by one member. What gives you any confidence that this kind of deal will not fall apart at some point in the future? And what should the U.S. do to try to avoid that?

**The President.** I would say there are two things that give me confidence that it will not fall apart. One is that it is in the interest of the Asian countries because they have decided that they want expanded trade in an open world trading system, not in closed trading blocs. The second is the constant reaffirmation of commitment to this by the Asian leaders themselves.

Finally, I would say we have some historic evidence that should give us some encouragement. On a smaller scale, look at the ASEAN agreement, the regional trade agreement where they promised that they would break down trade barriers among themselves. And it was all voluntary, but they met and they worked on it and they laid out a platform. And they just recently shortened by

5 years the time deadline they imposed on themselves for taking all the barriers away.

So if you look at the experience of their conduct, if you look at the conviction by which they express this commitment, and if you look at it, in very cold terms, their own self-interest in wanting to do more in the rest of the world, I think all those things should be very encouraging in terms of having you think that it's more likely than not that it will occur.

#### **Foreign Policy**

**Q.** Mr. President, your administration is in the process of changing its policy or developing its policy on expanding NATO and strengthening CSCE. Will you be going to the CSCE summit in Budapest? And when you look at your foreign travel, your past foreign travel, in recent weeks you've gone to the Middle East; you spent several days here; you're going to be hosting the Summit of the Americas; you have an ambitious foreign agenda next year. Are you becoming, in essence, a foreign policy President?

**The President.** Well, let me answer both questions. First of all, I plan to make a very—a brief but I think quite critical trip to the CSCE. I decided to do it after having communications with both Chancellor Kohl and President Yeltsin and looking at what is at stake there in terms of the future of European security. After all, the United States played a strong leadership role in the Partnership For Peace and encouraging the growth of the European Union and European security arrangements.

What I have sought to do is to create a stronger Europe that was more independent but also more closely allied with us and one that at least created the possibility that there would not be another dividing line in Europe just moved a few hundred miles east. We have a big stake in that. So I will go quickly and come back quickly, but I think I should go.

Secondly, on the question of foreign policy versus domestic, let me say, if you look at what happened, in the last 2 years, we had only the third Congress in the history of—since World War II which gave a President more than 80 percent of his domestic initiatives as well as the foreign policy initiatives,

including sweeping education reform, the family leave law, the Brady bill, the crime bill, and a number of other very important issues.

So I have no intention of withdrawing from the domestic field. But we had an unusual number of responsibilities this year, an unusual number of opportunities. And Americans are both more prosperous and more secure because of these efforts. And they will be more so in the future. So if I were to give up one in favor of the other, I would be doing a disservice to the American people. I have to try to pursue both courses.

It's been somewhat more busy on the foreign front than I could have anticipated in the last few months because of the unusual developments.

### **World Trade**

**Q.** Mr. President, it looks like you've made some concessions on letting them come in in 2020 and 2010. China also wants to join GATT and some other world trade organizations. If they want to join and be held to a lesser standard than the major industrial nations—China's the third largest economy in the world. What is your position on letting China into these world trade organizations? Will you give them a break on this, or will you insist that they be held to the same standard as the industrial nations?

**The President.** Let me answer the first question. First of all, I will say again, whether a country is an industrialized country or a developing country as of 2010 is a question of fact that cannot be answered now. There are some we can be pretty sure will be still industrializing, still developing; some we can be certain will be developed; others we're not sure. There was no concession given because there must be equivalency in the reduction of trade barriers, a fairness on both sides. But as a practical matter, it will take developing countries longer to get down to zero, even if they have great incentives to do so in dealing with other countries.

Now, on the GATT. To be a founding member of GATT, whether you are a developing country or an industrialized country, without regard to your status, you must agree to observe three or four basic commitments in terms of the way you handle your financial

exchanges, in terms of the transparency of your trade laws, in terms of your whole approach to the international economy. There are four basic commitments that all 123—I think the number is—people who have agreed to be founding members of GATT have agreed to do.

So the United States position is that China ought to be in GATT, ought to be a founding member of GATT. They're a very big country; they ought to be a part of this. It's in our interest to do it because it will open more Chinese markets to American products. But every country that has agreed to be a founding member, even the poorest countries, even the smallest countries, have agreed to these four basic criteria. And we believe that anyone who goes in as a founding member should do the same.

**Q.** Mr. President, you mentioned GATT as your top priority when you get back from this trip. How troubling is it to you that Senator Dole is clearly not on board on this, and how are you going to address the problems of the sort of populist conservative criticisms of WTO is somehow eliminating sovereignty?

**The President.** Well, it's not just the populist conservatives, there are also some populist liberals who aren't sure about it.

Just before I left, when I called on Senator Dole and we had our conversation, he said that he thought that we could work it out, that we could have some language which would make it clear that our sovereignty was intact, that would not violate the GATT agreement. And I believe that, so I think that's what we'll do. I think he's trying in good faith to get that done based on his representation to me, and we certainly are. And that is our objective.

That's an understandable concern when people first hear about this. You know, they want to be reassured that we're not giving up the ability to run our own affairs. So we're working on it, and I think we'll resolve it.

### **The Economy**

**Q.** Mr. President, you've mentioned here several times your achievements and your record with Congress and the things you've gotten done. But as you know, one of the big problems you face politically is that the American people don't believe their lives

have changed as a result of the things that have been done.

Now, here you have another long-term agreement; it's going to take place over the next generation. And while it may be very beneficial to the country, how are you going to convince Americans that this is going to affect their lives, and how are you going to do it within the next 2 years before you have to face the voters?

**The President.** Well, I think there were two issues there. One is, as you know, there were a lot of Americans who did not know a lot of the things that had been done. And it is my job to do my best to make sure people know that. Then there is the inevitable fact that there is a time lag between when you pass any law or take any executive action and it can be manifest in the lives of Americans.

You know, one of the problems with the nature of the economy today, from the point of view of the average American working family, is that even if more jobs are coming into the economy, people may not feel more personal job security; even if the economy is growing with low inflation, people may not get a raise. Most Americans, wage earners, particularly hourly earners, have not had an increase in real income, that is, above inflation, in quite some time now.

These are conditions that I am working hard to remedy. There are only two or three ways to remedy them. You have to change the job mix and get more high-wage jobs, you have to increase the skill level of the work force so people can take those jobs, and you have to get enterprise and investment into isolated areas, that is, pockets of the inner cities, pockets of the rural areas which have been left behind. These things may require long-term solutions.

It is my job to do what is best for the American people in the future. I'll do my best to get credit for it, but the most important thing is that I do the right thing. And you know, if I can find a way to get credit for it, I'll be very happy. But the most important thing is that I do the right thing. And I think that as time goes on—most Americans say, if you ask them, "Do you want us to have a long-term vision, do you want us to have a long-term strategy, do you want us to look at that?" they'll say yes. And then

they hear things on a daily basis that are so contentious and so conflicting and so kind of clouding of the atmosphere that it's hard to think about that.

My job is to try to keep lifting the sights of the country above that and keep looking at the long run. The credit will have to either come or not, but that's not as important as trying to do the right thing.

I think I ought to take a question or two from the Indonesian press.

**Q.** Mr. President——

**The President.** Go ahead, and then I'll take this lady first and then you, sir.

#### **Asian-Pacific Economic Agreement**

**Q.** Mr. President—[inaudible].

**The President.** That the media is?

**Q.** ——media is so—[inaudible].

**The President.** First of all, if I might—her question was sort of related to your question. Your question is, how do we know that this is going to happen, implying that maybe these folks aren't serious. Her question, in a way, is the same question from a different point of view. If there is no institutionalized mechanism, how do we know that it will go on when those of us who are here aren't here anymore?

And I have to tell you that I think the critical question is, will the leaders themselves continue to meet personally every year, even when it is inconvenient for them to do so? Like now, you know—[laughter]—will they continue to do that? Will they continue to meet, even when it is inconvenient for them to do so? And secondly, will they make some specific, concrete progress every time they meet?

So, for example—I feel very good about this. This is potentially, I think, a very historic declaration. But next year, if we don't adopt the blueprint, I'd say that's not a good sign. If we do adopt a blueprint, that is a very good sign. So that is my test.

Now, let me say, on the question of the media being, if you will, dominated by the first world, I think you should be encouraged that, for example, in many of our major news outlets, there is enormous attention given now, much more than previously, not just to foreign policy concerns that affect the developing world and not just the largest powers

that dominated the cold war debate, number one. Number two, there are now more specific outlets, particularly CNN, for example, that has a whole separate channel dealing with global affairs which gives more and more attention to the developing world. I'll get in a lot of trouble with all of the other networks now. *[Laughter]*

But I think—look at all these people here from all the American outlets. I can't speak for BBC or the French television network or the German network. But every major American media outlet, just about, sent someone to Indonesia, which was, as you know, originally the leader of the nonaligned movement in the United Nations. Every person who is here now has a little different understanding of the problems and the promise of this country, the other countries here represented at APEC.

I think you have to be a little patient with us, too. We are learning more about the rest of the world beyond our borders and beyond our previous habits of encounter. And I think the more we do that, the more you will see a broader coverage of world affairs right across the board.

**Q.** I watch you every day on CNN, Mr. President, but now you are real. Thank you very much for being here.

Let me introduce myself, chief editor of the Economic and Business Review of Indonesia. I have two questions, Mr. President. First of all, do you agree with me that education, in fact, has been the best investment of the United States in Indonesia? Because you have so many economists and people in high position and in key strategic positions who graduated from the United States. I, myself, am a product of George Washington University. It so happens I'm chairman of the U.S. Alumni Association.

Somehow, the U.S. effort in this, United States effort in encouraging and developing education, of providing scholarships for Indonesians to the United States has been less today than some years back. In fact, education for the armed forces has been curtailed. What is your view on this, Mr. President?

The second question is, while liberalization and normalization seems to have been the trademark of APEC, you know yourself that

economies do not determine history. Often politics determine history. How do you harmonize this normalization trend with international politics, Mr. President? Thank you very much.

**The President.** Well, first let me say, I definitely agree that the investment the United States has made in times past in international educational exchanges and bringing people to our country to attend our universities and our colleges and sending our young people abroad to attend school in other countries has been a very, very important thing.

It is true that there has been some reduction in Federal support for such programs, which I very much regret, but it is a function of the fact that we quadrupled the national debt of America from 1981 to 1993, that in a 12-year period we exploded our debt, our Government deficit was high, and we started having to cut back on a lot of investments, including things that we wanted to do.

I will say that most of our major universities now, particularly a lot of our State universities, are investing much more of their money and their effort in trying to recruit students from around the world and to promote these sort of educational exchanges. And what I would need to do before I could make a final judgment is to see what the total effort is in our country. But we should be doing more of it.

So I feel very strongly about that. Now, what was the second question you asked? Yes, yes, the economy and politics. Let me just say about that, I believe that the business of politics is, not completely but in large measure, to give the maximum opportunity for the positive economic forces in the world to succeed within each country or within each—in my case, within each of our States within our country. That is not the whole business, but that is a major part of the business. So a lot of what we try to do in the United States is to think about the good things that are happening in our country and in the world and what we can do to accelerate them and then to think about the problems, the roadblocks, the obstacles, and what we can do to eliminate them so that we try to harmonize those things.

Very often when politics can mess up economics, it's because it becomes obsessed with

some other goal which is destructive of the human spirit. Politics should be more than economics—I talked about human rights here today—but it should be very heedful of making those good things happen through the economic system.

I'll take this lady's question, the last one.

**WTO and President's Visit to Istiqlal**

**Q.** Thank you, Mr. President. Who will the United States appoint for the job of Secretary General of the WTO, Salinas—or Kim? And my other question, while Indonesians are very proud that a Christian, my Christian uncle built Istiqlal Mosque, I find it difficult to explain to my leaders why the President of the United States took his time to visit the mosque. Thank you, Mr. President.

**The President.** Let me answer the second question first. I went to the mosque because, first of all, I wanted to see it. It's a massive and impressive and important structure. Secondly, because Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country that has a very vibrant Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, and Buddhist heritage and active religions today in all those areas. And the Minister of Religious Affairs here made available some time for me to go to the mosque, to talk with him about what was going on there, and to explain to me personally how these various religions had come into this country and how they operated today within the country together, without undermining or conflicting one with the other.

Finally, I have tried to do a lot as I have traveled the world—and I did this when I was in Jordan, speaking to the Jordanian Parliament—to say to the American people and to the West generally that even though we have had problems with terrorism coming out of the Middle East, it is not inherently related to Islam, not to the religion, not to the culture. And the tradition of Islam in Indonesia, I think, makes that point very graphically. It's something our people in America need to know; it's something people in the West, throughout the West, need to know.

With regard to the World Trade Organization, I will have an announcement about that in the next couple of days. You won't have to wait long.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 81st news conference began at 7:10 p.m. at the Jakarta Hilton. In his remarks, he referred to Tarmizi Taher, Minister of Religious Affairs of Indonesia. A reporter referred to President Carlos Salinas of Mexico and South Korean Minister of Trade, Industry and Energy Kim Chul-su as candidates for Secretary General, World Trade Organization. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

**APEC Economic Leaders'  
Declaration of Common Resolve,  
Bogor, Indonesia**

*November 15, 1994*

1. We, the economic leaders of APEC, came together in Bogor, Indonesia today to chart the future course of our economic co-operation which will enhance the prospects of an accelerated, balanced and equitable economic growth not only in the Asia Pacific region but throughout the world as well.

2. A year ago on Blake Island in Seattle, USA, we recognized that our diverse economies are becoming more interdependent and are moving toward a community of Asia Pacific economies. We have issued a vision statement in which we pledged:

- to find cooperative solutions to the challenges of our rapidly changing regional and global economy;
- to support an expanding world economy and an open multilateral trading system;
- to continue to reduce barriers to trade and investment to enable goods, services and capital to flow freely among our economies;
- to ensure that our people share the benefits of economic growth, improve education and training, link our economies through advances in telecommunication and transportation, and use our resources sustainably.

3. We set our vision for the community of Asia Pacific economies based on a recognition of the growing interdependence of our economically diverse region, which comprises developed, newly industrializing and developing economies. The Asia Pacific industrialized economies will provide opportunities for developing economies to increase

further their economic growth and their level of development. At the same time developing economies will strive to maintain high growth rates with the aim of attaining the level of prosperity now enjoyed by the newly industrializing economies. The approach will be coherent and comprehensive, embracing the three pillars of sustainable growth, equitable development and national stability. The narrowing gap in the stages of development among the Asia Pacific economies will benefit all members and promote the attainment of Asia Pacific economic progress as a whole.

4. As we approach the twenty-first century, APEC needs to reinforce economic cooperation in the Asia Pacific region on the basis of equal partnership, shared responsibility, mutual respect, common interest, and common benefit, with the objective of APEC leading the way in:

- strengthening the open multilateral trading system;
- enhancing trade and investment liberalization in Asia Pacific; and
- intensifying Asia Pacific development cooperation.

5. As the foundation of our market-driven economic growth has been the open multilateral trading system, it is fitting that APEC builds on the momentum generated by the outcome of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and takes the lead in strengthening the open multilateral trading system.

We are pleased to note the significant contribution APEC made in bringing about a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. We agree to carry out our Uruguay Round commitments fully and without delay and call on all participants in the Uruguay Round to do the same.

To strengthen the open multilateral trading system we decide to accelerate the implementation of our Uruguay Round commitments and to undertake work aimed at deepening and broadening the outcome of the Uruguay Round. We also agree to commit ourselves to our continuing process of unilateral trade and investment liberalization. As evidence of our commitment to the open multilateral trading system we further agree to a standstill under which we will endeavour to refrain from using measures which would

have the effect of increasing levels of protection.

We call for the successful launching of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Full and active participation in and support of the WTO by all APEC economies is key to our ability to lead the way in strengthening the multilateral trading system. We call on all non-APEC members of the WTO to work together with APEC economies toward further multilateral liberalization.

6. With respect to our objective of enhancing trade and investment in Asia Pacific, we agree to adopt the long-term goal of free and open trade and investment in Asia Pacific. This goal will be pursued promptly by further reducing barriers to trade and investment and by promoting the free flow of goods, services and capital among our economies. We will achieve this goal in a GATT-consistent manner and believe our actions will be a powerful impetus for further liberalization at the multilateral level to which we remain fully committed.

We further agree to announce our commitment to complete the achievement of our goal of free and open trade and investment in Asia Pacific no later than the year 2020. The pace of implementation will take into account the differing levels of economic development among APEC economies, with the industrialized economies achieving the goal of free and open trade and investment no later than the year 2010 and developing economies no later than the year 2020.

We wish to emphasize our strong opposition to the creation of an inward-looking trading bloc that would divert from the pursuit of global free trade. We are determined to pursue free and open trade and investment in Asia Pacific in a manner that will encourage and strengthen trade and investment liberalization in the world as a whole. Thus, the outcome of trade and investment liberalization in Asia Pacific will not only be the actual reduction of barriers among APEC economies but also between APEC economies and non-APEC economies. In this respect we will give particular attention to our trade with non-APEC developing countries to ensure that they will also benefit from our trade and investment liberalisation, in conformity with GATT/WTO provisions.

7. To complement and support this substantial process of liberalisation, we decide to expand and accelerate APEC's trade and investment facilitation programs. This will promote further the flow of goods, services and capital among APEC economies by eliminating administrative and other impediments to trade and investment.

We emphasize the importance of trade facilitation because trade liberalization efforts alone are insufficient to generate trade expansion. Efforts at facilitating trade are important if the benefits of trade are to be truly enjoyed by both business and consumers. Trade facilitation has also a pertinent role in furthering our goal of achieving the fullest liberalization within the global context.

In particular we ask our ministers and officials to submit proposals on APEC arrangements on customs, standards, investment principles and administrative barriers to market access.

To facilitate regional investment flows and to strengthen APEC's dialogue on economic policy issues, we agree to continue the valuable consultations on economic growth strategies, regional capital flows and other macro-economic issues.

8. Our objective to intensify development cooperation among the community of Asia Pacific economies will enable us to develop more effectively the human and natural resources of the Asia Pacific region so as to attain sustainable growth and equitable development of APEC economies, while reducing economic disparities among them, and improving the economic and social well-being of our peoples. Such efforts will also facilitate the growth of trade and investment in the Asia Pacific region.

Cooperative programs in this area cover expanded human resource development (such as education and training and especially improving management and technical skills), the development of APEC study centres, cooperation in science and technology (including technology transfer), measures aimed at promoting small and medium scale enterprises and steps to improve economic infrastructure, such as energy, transportation, information, telecommunications and tourism. Effective cooperation will also be developed on environmental issues, with the

aim of contributing to sustainable development.

Economic growth and development of the Asia Pacific region has mainly been market-driven, based on the growing interlinkages between our business sectors in the region to support Asia Pacific economic cooperation. Recognizing the role of the business sector in economic development, we agree to integrate the business sector in our programs and to create an ongoing mechanism for that purpose.

9. In order to facilitate and accelerate our cooperation, we agree that APEC economies that are ready to initiate and implement a cooperative arrangement may proceed to do so while those that are not yet ready to participate may join at a later date.

Trade and other economic disputes among APEC economies have negative implications for the implementation of agreed cooperative arrangements as well as for the spirit of cooperation. To assist in resolving such disputes and in avoiding its recurrence, we agree to examine the possibility of a voluntary consultative dispute mediation service, to supplement the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, which should continue to be the primary channel for resolving disputes.

10. Our goal is an ambitious one. But we are determined to demonstrate APEC's leadership in fostering further global trade and investment liberalization. Our goal entails a multiple year effort. We will start our concerted liberalization process from the very date of this statement.

We direct our ministers and officials to immediately begin preparing detailed proposals for implementing our present decisions. The proposals are to be submitted soon to the APEC economic leaders for their consideration and subsequent decisions. Such proposals should also address all impediments to achieving our goal. We ask ministers and officials to give serious consideration in their deliberations to the important recommendations contained in the reports of the Eminent Persons Group and the Pacific Business Forum.

11. We express our appreciation for the important and thoughtful recommendations contained in the reports of the Eminent Persons Groups and the Pacific Business Forum.

The reports will be used as valuable points of reference in formulating policies in the cooperative framework of the community of Asia Pacific economies. We agree to ask the two groups to continue with their activities to provide the APEC economic leaders with assessments of the progress of APEC and further recommendations for stepping up our cooperation.

We also ask the Eminent Persons Group and the Pacific Business Forum to review the interrelationships between APEC and the existing sub-regional arrangements (AFTA, ANZERTA and NAFTA) and to examine possible options to prevent obstacles to each other and to promote consistency in their relations.

NOTE: The joint statement was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.

### **Nomination for Commissioner of the Social Security Administration**

*November 15, 1994*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Shirley S. Chater, Ph.D., the current Commissioner of Social Security, to head the Social Security Administration when it becomes an independent agency next year.

"In the year since she was sworn in as the current Commissioner, Dr. Chater has taken decisive steps to improve service to Americans with disabilities, to streamline the agency and make it more efficient, and to enact high customer service standards for the more than 49 million Americans who receive Social Security or Supplemental Security Income benefits," the President said. "I can think of no better person to protect and maintain the administration's commitment to Social Security."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

### **Memorandum on Serbia and Montenegro**

*November 15, 1994*

Presidential Determination No. 95-5

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State,  
the Secretary of the Treasury*

*Subject:* Drawdown of Commodities and Services from the Inventory and Resources of the Department of the Treasury to Support Sanctions Enforcement Efforts Against Serbia and Montenegro

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 552(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2348a(c)(2) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that:

- (1) as a result of an unforeseen emergency, the provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance is important to the national interests of the United States; and
- (2) such unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act.

I therefore direct the drawdown of commodities and services from the inventory and resources of the Department of the Treasury of an aggregate value not to exceed \$3 million to support the international Serbia and Montenegro sanctions program enforcement efforts.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16.

## **Remarks to the International Business Community in Jakarta**

*November 16, 1994*

Thank you very much, Secretary Brown, for the introduction and for your tireless work on behalf of American businesses and American workers. Thank you, Mr. McNabb, for your testimonial, and congratulations. I want to come back to northern California and see you after you've doubled your work force. Congressman Mineta, it's great to see you here. Ambassador and Mrs. Barry, distinguished ministers of the Indonesian Government, and the mayor of Jakarta, and all of our fine hosts from Indonesia who have made this such a wonderful visit for me and for the First Lady and the entire American delegation. This is my second trip to Asia as President, and as I was watching Secretary Brown give his remarks, I thought if I keep coming back here I might become as well-known in Asia as Secretary Brown is. *[Laughter]*

I want to thank all of you here from the American private sector who are in the audience for your presence, but more importantly, for your commitment to keep our Nation engaged economically across the world.

Keeping America on the front lines of economic opportunity has been my first priority since I took office. We are pursuing a strategy to promote aggressive growth in the short run and in the long run. We began by putting our house in order. Our deficit was exploding; the public debt in America had quadrupled between 1981 and 1993. Now we're looking at a reduction in the deficit for the third year in a row for the first time since President Truman was President. Federal spending is the lowest it's been in more than a decade. We cut domestic and defense spending last year for the first time in 25 years. And the Federal work force is shrinking to its lowest level since President Kennedy was in office.

The second thing we are doing is working hard to expand trade and investment. That's what NAFTA was all about; that's what the GATT agreement is all about, what the Summit of the Americas, soon to be held in Miami, and obviously this wonderful APEC meeting are all about.

The third thing we're working to do is to develop a system of lifelong learning for our people, from expanding preschool programs like Head Start to providing more affordable college education to our people, to changing the whole unemployment system in America to a continuous retraining system for people who must find new jobs in a rapidly changing global economy.

Lastly, we're trying to change the way our Government works. Secretary Brown talked about it a little bit. There was, I think, a perception among American businesses when we took office that both parties, historically, were wrong in their approach to business, looking to the future, not to the past; that the Democratic Party sometimes tended to see the relationship between business and Government as adversarial, and the Republican Party sometimes seemed to be philosophically committed to being inactive on the theory that anything the Government did with the private sector would probably make things worse.

In a world in which all economics is global, as well as local, clearly the important thing is partnership, efficiency, and good judgment. We have deregulated our banking and interstate trucking industries. We have changed our whole way of purchasing things in the Government. We have invested more in defense conversion and new technologies, in partnerships with the private sectors. We have deregulated our relationships with our own local governments, permitting States to pursue their own reforms in health care and education and, most importantly, in changing our welfare system.

But perhaps over the long run the most significant thing we have done is to reorganize the way we relate to the private sector, requiring all of our departments to work together and to look outward in partnership. The key to making this strategy work is erasing the dividing line between domestic and foreign economics, between, therefore, domestic and foreign policy.

So far, I think, we're off to a pretty good start. Now the figures for the first 22 months are in. We have over 5 million new jobs in our economy. Our industrial capacity is operating at its highest level in 14 years, with our lowest rate of inflation for 29 years. And after

years and years in which we weren't seeing any increased income among our working people, this year we have more high-wage jobs coming into the American economy than in the previous 5 years combined. [Applause] Now, that's worth clapping for.

But the success of this ultimately rests on what our private sector does, on the productivity of our workers, the skill of our management, our continuing commitment to investment, to technologies, to enterprise, and to outreach. That's why we have pursued from the beginning a vigorous export strategy, a strategy rooted in tearing down trade barriers that deny our people the opportunity to compete and in actively promoting the sales of American goods and services in other nations.

We have especially tried to target, thanks in large measure to Secretary Brown, not just our traditional markets but the big emerging markets, the markets of the 21st century, places like China and Indonesia, Mexico and Brazil. In a departure from the behavior of previous administrations of both parties, we have unashamedly been an active partner in helping our business enterprises to win contracts abroad.

I know that many of you in this audience have already benefited from the coordinated and vigorous efforts of the Commerce, State, Treasury Departments, the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Trade and Development Agency. One of the things I most enjoy now when I go abroad is I always try to take a little time to meet with American business people operating in other countries. And repeatedly they tell me that, for the first time ever, they see an American State Department interested in economic advancement as well as diplomatic progress. All these things are important. I have to say to all of you that the most important thing we have to do this year is to go home and get the Congress to pass the GATT agreement.

When the APEC leaders met in Seattle last year for the first time, and President Soeharto came there along with leaders from 14 other countries, one of the things we did at APEC was to let the rest of the world know that we weren't going to sit around while they decided whether we were going to have a

GATT agreement. And so it wasn't very long before we got a GATT agreement. But now that the leaders have agreed on it, the legislative bodies of all these nations must adopt it. And the world is looking to the United States for leadership here, as well they should.

We've had opposition to GATT in our Congress from members of both parties. But we've also had strong bipartisan support. So I say that I am going home to seek to capitalize on that bipartisan support, to ask the Democrats to support GATT, and to invite the new Republican leaders in Congress to ratify one of their great predecessors, Senator Vandenberg's admonition that partisanship should stop at the water's edge. That used to apply to national security defined in military terms. Today, it applies to national security defined in economic terms. We must pass the GATT, and we should do it right away.

For five decades after the Second World War, our presence in Asia was intended to help guarantee security and to allow prosperity to take root. In meetings this week I reaffirmed the United States commitment to strengthen our important bilateral security relationships, to bolster regional alliances in security, and to rapidly implement the very important agreement we have reached with North Korea for that nation to become a non-nuclear nation. All these things will make this region more secure and, therefore, enable more prosperity to take root.

I have tried to make it clear to all the leaders of Asia that the United States will honor its commitments to Asian security. But it's also a fact, and a healthy one, that the balance of our relationship with Asia has tilted more and more toward trade. As a result of the efforts of the Asian people, the Asian economies are clearly the most dynamic and rapidly growing on Earth. Already they account for one-quarter of the world's output. Over the next 5 years the growth rate in Asia is projected to be over 50 percent higher than the growth rate in the mature economies of the G-7 countries.

This means expanding markets to those who have the most attractive products and services. Increasingly, we like to believe those products and services are American.

One-third of our exports already go to Asia, supporting more than 2 million American jobs. Over the next decade, we estimate that if we are vigorous and effective, Asia could add more than 1.8 million jobs to the American economy, jobs that pay on average 13 percent above nonexport-related jobs. That is a very important thing for us, and an important thing for every American to think about. These facts compel us to remain ever more committed to deeper and deeper and deeper economic, political, and security engagement in Asia.

For decades, we concentrated our efforts on Europe and, of course, on Japan. These nations will remain our close allies, our key competitors, our critical trading partners. But this new century we're about to enter compels a new strategy. Indonesia, Thailand, China, India, among others, must be a big part of that strategy.

The importance of Asia to our future is what has animated the intense interest of the United States in the APEC meetings. APEC, for me and for our country, is a long-term commitment. A year ago, as I said, 14 of the APEC leaders met for the first time in the United States in Seattle. We wanted to say to our trading partners and friends in Asia that the United States wants to remain engaged. We want the Pacific Ocean to unite us, not to divide us. We want to see the world growing in an open trading system, not breaking up into various trading blocs opposed to one another. We sought to give this incredibly diverse Asian-Pacific region a common identity rooted in a common purpose, committed to free trade and investment.

This week at the summit, thanks in large measure to the leadership of President Soeharto, we began to transform that vision into a reality. We established concrete goals to reduce barriers to trade and investment throughout this region by a date certain. And we are now committed, next year in our meeting in Osaka, to come up with a practical, day-to-day blueprint for achieving that goal, to simplify customs procedures, harmonize standards, identify other bottlenecks, lower tariff and nontariff barriers.

This commitment to achieve free trade and investment in the Asian-Pacific region

by 2020 may sound like a long time to most people, and in our country, most of our teenagers think tomorrow is a long time away. But the truth is that, number one, it's not so far away, and number two, that is the end date. We will begin reducing barriers to trade and investment as soon as all of the parties to APEC agree on a blueprint and agree to implement it. I am profoundly encouraged by this prospect.

Yesterday I got an interesting question from the American press which I might have gotten from American business people, who say, well—they said, "Mr. President, this is not a mandatory agreement. How do you know it will be carried through?" Good question. I said, "I believe it will happen for two reasons. Number one, it is in the interests of all the countries involved to do it. And number two, I have seen it work in this region." ASEAN, after all, committed to reduce barriers to trade by a date certain, and the commitment was so strong that the leaders reduced the date certain by 5 years. They moved the calendar closer. That can happen here as well. I hope it will. It will be good for all the nations involved if it does.

Our industries and businesses have proved that they can compete in this region and with Asian companies as long as they are allowed to do so in a fair way. We have regained our position throughout the world as the leading seller of semiconductors. This year, for the first time in 15 years, American automobile manufacturers have outsold their Japanese competitors in the world markets. We have done things that I think are very important for the future in the changes we've made to become more competitive in computers and in telecommunications. According to a recent survey that's conducted every year by the world economic forum in Geneva, the United States was voted for the first time in 9 years the world's most competitive economy. That's thanks in no small measure to a lot of you and a lot of American workers back home and some pretty wrenching and difficult and painful changes we had to undertake.

In the 6 months from March to August of this year, our companies won 34 major contracts in Asia, from turbine generators in China to waste incinerator technology in Tai-

wan. These contracts alone will generate \$5.3 billion in U.S. exports, supporting 85,000 jobs back home. And this week alone, as you know, American companies signed contracts in the Philippines, Malaysia, here in Indonesia for everything from fiber optic phone networks to environmentally friendly geothermal plants.

Secretary Brown was just at the signing ceremony. As he said, we had projects worth over \$40 billion. I know that there is increasing wealth in Indonesia and throughout Asia, but where I come from, \$40 billion is still real money, and we're grateful for the business.

Of course, as the American President, the most important thing to me is that these contracts will support jobs, thousands of them, back home from every place from Germantown, Maryland, to Oakland, California; from Evandale, Ohio, to Plantation, Florida.

For all these successes, if we're going to keep going, we have to recognize that there are still some barriers. Let me just cite two examples—and that's why this APEC agreement is so important. By the year 2000, the market for automobiles in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines will be equal to—I believe will exceed—today's market in Canada, in Mexico combined—combined. Now, even after GATT takes effect, tariffs in these nations on U.S. cars are between 30 and 60 percent, as opposed to a 2.5 percent tariff already in existence in the United States. That makes it harder to sell a Ford in Bangkok than it is to sell a Honda in Los Angeles.

Let me give you another example. The Asian APEC countries plan to invest more than \$1 trillion in infrastructure projects over the next 6 years. For those of you here from California who know that our busiest highways are in southern California, that's like rebuilding 15 Santa Monica freeways every single day. Here again, tariffs imposed even after GATT include 25 percent levies on hydraulic turbines, up to 15 percent tolls on steel. These are things that the American companies are eager to take down so that we can take part in the emerging adventure of Asia.

The bottom line is that if we're going to have freer trade, it must be fairer. The APEC

leaders have made their commitment to this goal. It is very, very exciting.

Let me also say that I'm very often asked by our press, and sometimes by the global press as I travel around the world, whether or not our pursuit of economic engagement undermines our commitment to human rights throughout the world. And I have said many times and I will say again, I think it supports our commitment to human rights throughout the world. In every private meeting I have with leaders, not only in this region but around the world, we talk about human rights issues and the other values, the things that make up the quality of life in any nation, things that are important to Americans from all walks of life.

We do not seek to impose our vision of the world on others. Indeed, we continue to struggle with our own inequities and our own shortcomings. We recognize that in a world and in a region of such diverse and disparate cultures, where nations are at different stages of development, no single model for organizing society is possible or even desirable. And we respect the tremendous efforts being made throughout this region to meet the basic needs of people in all these countries.

At the same time, we remain convinced that strengthening the ties of trade among nations can help to break down chains of repression, that as societies become more open economically, they also become more open politically. It becomes in no one's interest to depress the legitimate aspirations and energies, the hopes, the dreams, and the voices of the many people who make up all of our nations. Commerce does tend to open more closed societies. Throughout this region, we will see as markets expand, as information flows, as contacts across borders and among people multiply, the roots of open societies will grow and strengthen and contribute to stability, not instability. More nations will learn that the freer and more educated people are, the more they are able to be creative and to change with the fast-changing winds of the global economy. Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea have all demonstrated this to an admirable degree.

We in the United States also believe, however, that some basic rights are universal, that everywhere people aspire to be treated with

dignity, to give voice to their opinions, to have a say in choosing their leaders. We permit it on a regular basis in the United States, even when we don't like the results. [*Laughter*] And these aspirations are part of human nature. We see it in the stunning life story of President Kim of South Korea or the courageous dissidents like Wei-Jing Sheng in China or Aung San Suu Kyi. We see it in the lives of these people.

Our Nation has sacrificed many of our sons and daughters for the cause of freedom around the world in this century. So we are moved and we will continue to be moved by the struggle for basic rights. But I will say again, even though we will continue to promote human rights with conviction and without apology, we reject the notion that increasing economic ties in trade and partnerships undermine our human rights agenda. We believe they advance together and that they must.

At a time when our Nation is strong, in a time when our inspiration has permeated across the world and people from South Africa to Northern Ireland have asked us to help them in their struggle for democracy and freedom, we cannot turn away from that cause, and we will not. But your work and your progress and your success is also central to that cause.

We live in amazing times. It was only 5 years ago this month that the Berlin Wall fell, an amazing thing. Look at what has happened to the world in the last 5 years. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of the United States. For the first time since the end of World War II, there are no Russian soldiers in Eastern or Central Europe. And even though we have differences with our friends in Russia from time to time, we are working in genuine partnership across a whole range of areas that once would have been unthinkable.

After hundreds of years of fighting, the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland are working hard to resolve their differences. We do see now the prospect that the nuclear threat will fade from the Korean Peninsula. We see a new determination for freedom in the Persian Gulf, which we are proud to support, and the historic, almost

brehtaking, recently unimaginable prospect of peace in the Middle East, the home of the three great monotheistic religions of the world, including Islam, which is followed by the vast majority of the people in this fine country.

This is a remarkable time. And I am convinced that the increasing freedom of economic activity, rooted in your commitment to invest, your commitment to risk, your commitment to think and imagine and visualize what you might do and to mobilize human resources in this cause is an absolutely pivotal part of continuing the march of freedom.

So I ask you as we leave this remarkable meeting to recommit yourselves to fulfilling the human potential of your enterprise and all those whom you touch. For when the history of this era is written, it will be written in those terms. These changes, at bottom, are good because we are permitting, sometimes slowly, often rapidly, more and more and more and more people to fulfill the potential that has lain within them.

Thank you, and bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. at the Jakarta Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas McNabb, president, Aquatics Unlimited; Ambassador Robert L. Barry and his wife, Peggy; and Gov. Surjadi Soedirja of Jakarta. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## **Proclamation 6757—National Farm-City Week, 1994**

*November 16, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

### **A Proclamation**

Agricultural industries, from farming itself to the retail selling of farm products, constitute the largest sector of the American economy and account for 16 percent of the U.S. gross domestic product. Our Nation's food and fiber industry has had an immeasurable impact on America's culture, lifestyle, and tradition. As we enjoy the benefits of another rich harvest, it is important that we pay tribute to production agriculture as a central aspect of American life. That is why,

since 1956, National Farm-City Week has been celebrated in the busy time just before and including Thanksgiving Day.

Americans are blessed with an abundance of wholesome and economical food and fiber, but we often do not fully appreciate the complexity of food production. Today, our Nation's farm-to-market system uses technically advanced tools that enable our farmers to feed and clothe 260 million Americans and millions more overseas each year.

From Alaska to New York, from Hawaii to the southern tip of Florida, American farms yield a remarkable variety of crops. These products bring economic stability to farm families and rural communities, who in turn work to implement the latest conservation measures to safeguard and improve the environment for the generations to come.

America's farmers are helped by countless other professionals who advertise, develop, forecast, inspect, market, purchase, regulate, report, research, and transport value-added food and fiber throughout the country and around the world. This farm-city connection and these millions of individuals provide 1 in every 6 jobs in the United States, assisting and enhancing the efforts of our 2 million farmers every day.

It is fitting that we reflect on the importance and strength of agriculture in our society. The interdependency between the farm and city forms a solid, vital link connecting agricultural producers and professionals of all kinds. It allows the United States to maintain its leadership role as a source for both raw and value-added goods around the world.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of November 18 through November 24, 1994, as "National Farm-City Week."

I encourage all Americans, on our farms and in our cities alike, to recognize the accomplishments of our farmers and of all those who work together to produce the abundance of agricultural foods and fibers that strengthen and enrich the United States.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and

ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:22 a.m., November 17, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on November 18.

### **Remarks to the Military Community at Hickam Air Force Base in Honolulu, Hawaii**

*November 16, 1994*

Thank you so much. It's good to be home. Thank you. Admiral Macke, General Kealoha, Senator Akaka, Congresswoman Mink, Congressman Abercrombie, Governor and Mrs. Waihee, to Governor-elect Cayetano and Lieutenant Governor-elect Hirono, and Mayor Harris. Hillary and I and our distinguished Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, we're all very glad to be here with all of you.

I want to say a special word of thanks and appreciation to the service members and the spouses, the families of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, all of you stationed here in Hawaii. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to the Marine Corps Band for making me feel so very at home when I got off the airplane. Thank you.

I'm glad to be back at Hickam. I want all of you to know that while you're a long way from the mainland, you're never far from the hearts of every American who understands what you're doing here to keep our country safe and strong. I thank all of you for that.

As you know, I have just returned from a trip to Asia, a trip that began on Veterans Day at Arlington National Cemetery, where on behalf of the American people I was able to express our gratitude for those who paid the ultimate sacrifice to keep our Nation free. I then stopped at our airbase in Alaska. It was rather different than here. *[Laughter]* It was about 23 degrees. The snow was already knee-deep and coming down, but it was very warm. And the men and women there in uniform are also doing a very impor-

tant job for America. And I went to Manila in the Philippines to honor those who fought in World War II.

It has been an immensely rewarding time for me to serve as the President and Commander in Chief. Just a few days ago I was in the Persian Gulf with our forces there who got there so quickly and stopped the aggression of Saddam Hussein before it ever got started, thanks to the United States.

So to all of you here and all of your counterparts around the world, I say the world knows that the skills of our fighting men and women have never been higher. Your capacity to carry out our missions has never been greater. Your commitment to liberty has never been stronger. The world is more peaceful and secure because of you. And the most important thing I came here to say tonight is thank you.

You know, the world is changing profoundly. There are still threats out there, and they are significant, threats of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, threats of terrorism, the growing international drug trade, and the rise of international organized crime in the wake of communism's fall.

But if you really look around the world, you'd have to say that security, peace, and freedom are on the march, that all these children here today holding their American flags will in all probability grow up in a world where they will have less fear than their parents and their grandparents faced because of you.

If you look at what's happened from the Persian Gulf and the Middle East to north Africa and Northern Ireland and South Africa to Haiti, if you look at the fact that in North Korea—with North Korea we just concluded an agreement to make certain that that nation becomes a nonnuclear nation, not selling nuclear materials to others, if you look at the agreement we reached with China to stop the proliferation of missiles, and if you look at the fact that in Russia for the first time since nuclear weapons came on the face of the Earth, there are no Russian missiles pointed at American children, you'd have to say we're on the move.

Our forces in the Pacific are at this moment undertaking critical missions from Haiti to the Sinai, from joint exercises with Japan

to your role in deterring Iraq. I appreciate all of that. I know well that the success of our diplomatic efforts depends in large measure on our military strength. It is imperative that you remain the best fighting force in the world. And we are determined to do everything we can to make sure that that is exactly what happens.

Let me say, too, that all of you know, even though your role as workers might be in our national defense, that the world of America at home is changing, too, in ways that are both good and troubling. We've had problems in our system that are profound: 60 percent of American wage earners are earning the same or less today that they were earning 15 years ago when you adjust for inflation. We know that this has been especially hard on working men with limited educations. We know that our country still has rates of crime, violence, and family and community breakdown that are too high and unacceptable. We know that a lot of people have a deep sense that our Government, except for you, in which they have confidence, only works for organized special interests and is too often unable to protect the interests or the values of the ordinary Americans. The deep concern and frustration of our people about these conditions led to the changes they voted for in both 1992 and in 1994.

But just because the Congress changed hands, I think I can say for these Members of Congress here behind me, we don't think the message of the American people is, "We want more gridlock. We want an enhanced role for organized interests over ordinary citizens, which is what always happens when we have gridlock." I think what the American people said is, "You've got to keep working together until you change this enough to make it right, until you turn the difficult trends around, until America is going in the right direction at home as well as abroad." And I can tell you that I am committed to doing that.

If you look at what makes a strong country, it's a lot of what makes a strong military: strong families, good schools, safe streets, good-paying jobs, the kind of things that allows people to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential.

We've made a beginning on that, and we've got to keep going. We've got more jobs, a smaller deficit, a smaller National Government doing more for the American people than we had 2 years ago, thanks to Senator Akaka and Senator Inouye, Congressman Abercrombie and Congresswoman Mink, and a lot of other people who helped.

We've taken some stands for strong families. The family and medical leave law will help about 200,000 people in this State to keep their jobs if they have to take a little time off when there's a baby born or a sick parent. That's something good the Government did to stand up for strong families, and we ought to be proud of that.

They worked for better education when we reorganized the student loan law so that now all over America middle class working families can have their children borrow money to go to college at lower interest rates and better repayment terms so that no one need ever walk away from a college education because of the cost again.

And even though there was great controversy about it in the election, I know that Lee will be able to make our streets safer because we passed the Brady bill and the crime bill and we're putting more police officers on the street and in getting military assault weapons off the street. You should have them, not people walking up and down the streets of our cities.

And we now have this economy over the last 22 months more than 5 million new jobs. Our industries are operating at the highest capacity in 14 years. We have the lowest inflation in 29 years. And finally—slowly, slowly—we are beginning to see trends which may indicate that people will begin to get wage increases again. This year, there have been more high-wage jobs come into the American economy than in the last 5 years combined. We have to build on these changes, not tear them down. There is still a lot of change that needs to be done to reward people who get up every day, care for their families, obey the law, do the best they can to be good citizens. We have to keep that momentum going.

You know, let me just say one other thing. In Hawaii, a lot of the problems we face today are because of big, sweeping trends in

the world. A lot of the reasons a lot of Americans have trouble getting pay increases is because of the pressure of the global economy and competition from people who work for wages that Americans couldn't live on. That's been developing for 20 years now.

We have to make a choice, whether we're going to embrace these changes and make them work for us or try to run away from them. One thing I want to say in Hawaii, that is on the frontier of America militarily and economically, is that you know that global change can be our friend. The reason I want to Asia is because whether we like it or not, the Asian economies are going to be a big part of the world's future. They are the fastest growing economies in the world. A third of our exports already go to Asia, supporting 2 million American jobs today.

Now, we have to decide—I believe as strongly as I can say that just as your military strength permits America to have diplomatic strength, so that national security is both military and diplomatic, national security is also being strong at home as well as being strong abroad. And there is no longer a clear dividing line between what is foreign policy and what is domestic policy, not when everybody's job depends on whether we can compete in a global economy.

If we educate our people well, that's good foreign policy. If we raise our kids well, that's strong national security. And if we can sell more American products abroad, then that means better jobs at home. That's good domestic policy. If we do not accept any other lesson in this calendar year, let us say there is no easy dividing line between our role in the world and our role at home. We must be strong at home and strong abroad. They are two sides of the same coin.

And so, let me say that I went to Indonesia, a long way from America, because I thought it was good for Americans, because we made an agreement in Indonesia that we would by a date certain take down all the barriers to trade and investment in all the countries of the Asian-Pacific region that were there. And that is a big deal, because we already have the most open markets in the world. So if others lower their markets, it means more sales for Americans, more jobs, and higher incomes.

The United States this year at the world economic forum in Switzerland was voted the most productive economy in the world for the very first time in 9 long years—9 years. We are coming back. We need a fair chance to sell America's products and services around the world, just as we can promote America's ideals and values around the world. And that's what this trip was all about. That's what my work is all about.

And without regard to our party, let us agree, there's no easy line between our role in the world and our role at home. We can't be strong abroad if we're not strong at home. We'll never be strong at home if we withdraw from our responsibilities around the world. What really makes us strong is strong families, good education, safe streets, good jobs, and national security. You, as much as any group in America today, embody all those, and all Americans are in your gratitude.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:05 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Adm. Richard C. Macke, USN, Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command; Brig. Gen. Dwight M. Kealoha, USAF, Base Commander; and Mayor Jeremy Harris of Honolulu. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## **Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iran**

*November 18, 1994*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report on May 14, 1994, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979, and matters relating to Executive Order No. 12613 of October 29, 1987. This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9(c). This report covers events through October 18, 1994. My last report, dated May 14, 1994, covered events through March 31, 1994.

1. There have been no amendments to the Iranian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 560, or to the Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 CFR Part 535, since the last report.

2. The Office of Foreign Assets Control (FAC) of the Department of the Treasury continues to process applications for import licenses under the Iranian Transactions Regulations. However, a substantial majority of such applications are determined to be ineligible for licensing and, consequently, are denied.

During the reporting period, the U.S. Customs Service has continued to effect numerous seizures of Iranian-origin merchandise, primarily carpets, for violation of the import prohibitions of the Iranian Transactions Regulations. The FAC and Customs Service investigations of these violations have resulted in forfeiture actions and the imposition of civil monetary penalties. Additional forfeiture and civil penalty actions are under review.

3. The Iran-United States Claims Tribunal (the "Tribunal"), established at The Hague pursuant to the Algiers Accords, continues to make progress in arbitrating the claims before it. Since my last report, the Tribunal has rendered 6 awards, bringing the total number to 557. Of this total, 373 have been awards in favor of American claimants. Two hundred twenty-five of these were awards on agreed terms, authorizing and approving payment of settlements negotiated by the parties, and 150 were decisions adjudicated on the merits. The Tribunal has issued 38 decisions dismissing claims on the merits and 85 decisions dismissing claims for jurisdictional reasons. Of the 59 remaining awards, 3 approved the withdrawal of cases and 56 were in favor of Iranian claimants. As of October 18, 1994, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York reported that the value of awards to successful American claimants from the Security Account held by the NV Settlement Bank stood at \$2,353,030,872.61.

The Security Account has fallen below the required balance of \$500 million almost 50 times. Until October 1992, Iran periodically replenished the account, as required by the Algiers Accords. This was accomplished first by transfers from the separate account held

by the NV Settlement Bank in which interest on the Security Account is deposited. The aggregate amount transferred from the Interest Account to the Security Account was \$874,472,986.47. Iran then replenished the account with the proceeds from the sale of Iranian-origin oil imported into the United States, pursuant to transactions licensed on a case-by-case basis by FAC. Iran has not, however, replenished the account since the last oil sale deposit on October 8, 1992, although the balance fell below \$500 million on November 5, 1992. As of October 18, 1994, the total amount in the Security Account was \$203,349,297.01 and the total amount in the Interest Account was \$20,160,414.78.

The United States continues to pursue Case A/28, filed last year, to require Iran to meet its financial obligations under the Algiers Accords to replenish the Security Account.

4. Since my last report, the Tribunal has issued two significant awards in favor of U.S. citizens who are dual nationals, for their respective shares of corporations expropriated by Iran. The Tribunal awarded members of the Khosrowshahi family \$2,484,746.31 plus interest. The Tribunal awarded members of the Ebrahimi family \$5,265,697.00 plus interest.

5. The Department of State continues to present United States Government claims against Iran, in coordination with concerned government agencies, and to respond to claims brought against the United States by Iran. In July 1994, the United States filed a new case, Number A/29, seeking to compel Iran to make its payments for Tribunal expenses in a timely manner. Over the past 2 years, Iran has failed repeatedly to make its payments for extended periods of time, until pressed by the United States in Cases A/28 and A/29.

The United States also recently filed its Rejoinders in, respectively, Case A/15 (I:D and I:H), a claim brought by Iran for the return of certain amounts held in U.S. banks, and Case A/27, a claim brought by Iran for the alleged failure of the United States to enforce a Tribunal award in its favor against a U.S. national.

In August, the United States filed a Production Request in Case B/1, a case in which Iran alleges the United States is liable for termination costs and the nondelivery of goods and services under contracts through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. The United States is seeking the return of FMS documents that remained in U.S. military offices in Iran after the Revolution.

6. United States arbitrator Howard Holtzmann, one of the original members of the Tribunal, resigned July 31, 1994, after 13 years of service. To replace him, the United States appointed Charles T. Duncan, who assumed his duties on August 1, 1994. Until his appointment, Mr. Duncan was Senior Counsel to the law firm of Reid & Priest.

7. As anticipated by the May 13, 1990, agreement settling the claims of U.S. nationals against Iran for less than \$250,000, the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission (FCSC) has continued its review of 3,112 claims. As of October 18, 1994, the FCSC has issued decisions in 3,066 claims, for total awards of more than \$68 million. The FCSC expects to complete its adjudication of the remaining claims this year.

8. The situation reviewed above continues to implicate important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an unusual challenge to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. The Iranian Assets Control Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12170 continue to play an important role in structuring our relationship with Iran and in enabling the United States to implement properly the Algiers Accords. Similarly, the Iranian Transactions Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12613 continue to advance important objectives in combatting international terrorism. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

---

### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

---

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

---

#### **November 10<sup>1</sup>**

The President announced his intention to appoint David H. Swinton, Adele Simmons, Bobby Charles Simpson, and Chang-Lin Tien to the National Commission for Employment Policy.

#### **November 11**

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Anchorage, AK. In the evening, they traveled to Manila, Philippines.

#### **November 12**

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton arrived in Manila, Philippines.

#### **November 13**

In the morning, following an arrival ceremony at the Malacanang Palace, the President and Hillary Clinton participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Rizal Monument. Later in the morning, they were given a tour of Corregidor Island.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton toured Malacanang Palace before attending a state luncheon in the Ceremonial Room.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Jakarta, Indonesia.

#### **November 14**

In the morning, the President met with President Jiang Zemin of China in the Summit Room at the Jakarta Convention Center. Following the meeting, the President visited the Istiqlal Mosque. He then went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence where he met with Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama of Japan.

In the afternoon, the President attended a working lunch with Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia. He then met with President Kim Yong-sam of South Korea.

In the evening, the President attended an APEC leaders dinner at the Jakarta Convention Center. Following the dinner, he met with President Kim of South Korea and Prime Minister Murayama of Japan.

The President announced his intention to appoint Bonnie Prouty Castrey and Mary Jacksteit to the Federal Service Impasses Panel.

The President announced his intention to appoint Benjamin F. Montoya and Richard H. Truly as members of the Board of Visitors of the U.S. Naval Academy.

#### **November 15**

In the morning, the President went to Bogor, Indonesia, where he attended meetings with APEC leaders at the Istana Bogor.

Following a luncheon in the afternoon, the President continued his meetings with APEC leaders at the Istana Bogor.

#### **November 16**

In the morning, the President met with President Soeharto of Indonesia at the Istana Merdeka and then participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Kalibata National Heroes Cemetery.

In the afternoon, the President met with a group of American business people at the Jakarta Convention Center.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a state dinner hosted by President Soeharto at the Istana Negara. Following the dinner, they traveled to Oahu, HI.

#### **November 17**

In the evening, the President attended the Children's Discovery Center benefit and tribute to Gov. John Waihee at the Hilton Hawaiian Village in Kailua, HI.

---

### **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

---

<sup>1</sup> This announcement was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

---

**Checklist  
of White House Press Releases**

---

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

---

**Released November 10<sup>1</sup>**

Transcript of a press briefing by National AIDS Policy Director Patsy Fleming

**Released November 11**

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen on their meeting at the APEC ministerial meeting

Transcript of press briefing by Deputy Secretary of State for Public Affairs Michael McCurry, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord, and U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of China J. Stapleton Roy on Secretary

---

<sup>1</sup> This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

of State Christopher's activities at the APEC ministerial meeting

**Released November 13**

Transcript of remarks by the First Lady at breakfast with Philippine NGO representatives in Manila

**Released November 16**

Background material on U.S.-Indonesian commercial transactions

**Released November 17**

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on Ukraine's vote to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

---

**Acts Approved  
by the President**

---

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.